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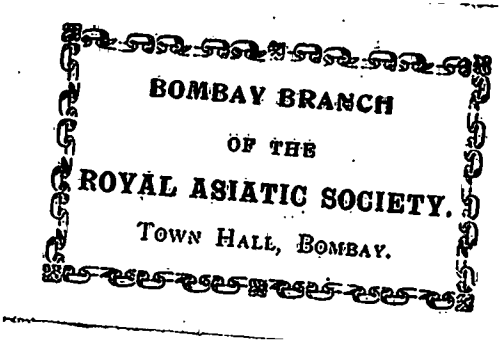

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2 Vols

BISHOP NEWTON'S

DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES.

VOL. II.

DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

WHICH

HAVE REMARKABLY BEEN FULFILLED,

AND AT THIS

TIME ARE FULFILLING IN THE WORLD.

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BY THOMAS NEWTON, D.D.

LATE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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TO

HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP

OF

YORK,

(DR. GILBERT.)

MY LORD,

THE very favorable opinion that Your GRACE was pleased to express of the first part of this work, encourages me to set forth this last under Your patronage and protection. This last is the most difficult, but yet it has been to me the most entertaining part of all. How it may approve itself to Your GRACE and others, I cannot pretend to say: but having been perused by the same three eminently learned persons as the former volume, it may be presumed on that account to be less unfit for me to offer, and for Your GRACE to receive. At the same time it affords me an additional pleasure in giving me an opportunity of acknowleging publicly my obligations to Your GRACE for favors great in

themselves, but made much greater by Your handsome manner of conferring them, unsolicited, unasked, unexpected, I will not say, undeserved, because that would be calling Your GRACE's judgment in question; but I will endevor to deserve them: and indeed I should think any preferment ill bestowed upon me, that did not incite and animate me more to prosecute my studies, and thereby to prove myself more worthy of Your GRACE's favor and kindness to,

My LORD,

Your GRACE's *ever obliged*

and dutiful humble servant,

Nov. 3, 1758.

THOMAS NEWTON

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DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

WHICH HAVE REMARKABLY BEEN FULFILLED, AND AT THIS TIME ARE FULFILLING IN THE WORLD.

XVIII.

OUR SAVIOUR'S PROPHECIES RELATING TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

IN FOUR PARTS.

PART I.

THE Jewish church, consisting only of a single nation, and living under a theocracy or the immediate government of God, experienced continual interpositions of a particular extraordinary providence in its favor and protection, and was from time to time instructed by prophets raised up and sent one after another as occasions required. But the Christian church being designed to comprehend the whole world, was like the world at first erected by miracle, but like the world too is since governed by a general ordinary providence, by established laws, and the mediation of second causes. This difference in the nature and constitution of the two churches, is the reason why prophecies, and miracles, and other supernatural powers, which were continued so long, and repeated so frequently in the Jewish church, were in the Christian church confined to the first ages, and limited chiefly to the persons of our blessed Saviour, and his disciples, and their companions.

There were *prophets* (Acts xi. 27.) who *came from Jerusalem unto Antioch. One of them, named Agabus,* (ver. 28.) foretold *the great dearth, which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar.* The same prophet foretold likewise (Acts xxi. 10, 11.) the bonds and imprisonment of St. Paul. Philip the evangelist had also (ver 9.) *four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy.* Prophetic as well as other spiritual gifts abounded in the primitive church; *their sons and their daughters did prophesy,* (Acts ii. 17.) *their young men saw visions, and their old men dreamed dreams.* But the only prophecies, which the Spirit of God hath thought fit to record and preserve, are some delivered by our blessed Saviour himself, and by his apostles, particularly St. Paul and St. John.

Our blessed Saviour, as he was the great subject of prophecy, so was an illustrious prophet himself; as he excelled in all other spiritual gifts and graces, so was eminent in this also, and gave ample proofs of his divine commission by his prophecies as well as by his miracles. What he said upon one occasion, is equally applicable to all his predictions, that their accomplishment is a sufficient attestation of his being the Messiah; (John xiii. 19.) *Now I tell you before it come, that when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am he.* He foretold not only his own passion, death, and resurrection, but also the manner and circumstances of them, that he should be betrayed by one of the twelve, even by Judas Iscariot the son of Simon; that all the rest should be offended because of him that very night, and notwithstanding their protestations to the contrary should forsake him and fly: that Peter particularly, who was more zealous and eager than the rest, before the cock crew twice should deny him thrice; that he should be betrayed to the chief priests, and be delivered to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, to spit upon, and to kill him; that he should be crucified, and the third day should rise again, and appear to his disciples in Galilee. He foretold that his apostles should be enabled of plain fishers to become fishers of men; that they should be induced

with power from on high to speak with new tongues and to work miracles; that they should go forth into all nations, and publish the glad tidings of the gospel unto the uttermost parts of the earth. He foretold the persecutions and sufferings which his disciples should undergo, and particularly by what manner of death Peter in his old age should glorify God, and that John should survive till after the destruction of Jerusalem. He foretold the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles; that the kingdom of heaven should be taken away from the former, and be given to the latter, who should bring forth the fruits thereof; that the number of his disciples from small beginnings should increase wonderfully, as a little seed groweth into a tree, and a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump; that his church should be so founded upon a rock, that it should stand for ever, and all the powers of hell should not prevail against it. These things were most of them contrary to all human appearances, and impossible to be foreseen by human prudence or effected by human power; and he must be thoroughly acquainted with the hearts of men, and with the direction and disposition of future events, who could foretel them with certainty and exactnesss: and some of them are actually accomplishing in the world at this present time.

But none of our Saviour's prophecies are more remarkable than those relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, as none are more proper and pertinent to the design of these discourses: and we will consider them as they lie in the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, taking in also what is supperadded by the other evangelists upon parallel occasions. These prophecies were delivered by our Saviour about forty years, and were committed to writing by St. Matthew about thirty years, before they were to take effect. St. Matthew's is universally allowed to be the (1) first of the four Gospels; the

(1) πρῶτον μεν γεγραπθαι το κατα τον τοτε τελωνην, ὑστερον δε αποστολον Ιησυ Χριστυ Ματθαιον. Primum evangelium scriptum esse a Matthæo, prius quidem publicano, postea vero apostolo Jesu Christi. Origen. apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 25. &c. &c. [' The first was written by Matthew, who

first in time, as it is always placed the first in order. It was written, as (2) most writers affirm, in the eighth year after the ascension of our Saviour. It must have been written before the dispersion of the apostles, because (3) St. Bartholomew is said to have taken it along with him into India, and to have left it there, where it was found several years afterwards by Pantænus. If the general tradition of antiquity be true, that it was written originally in Hebrew, it certainly was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, for there was no occasion for writing in that language after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews into all nations. It is asserted upon (4) good authority, that the Gospels of Mark and Luke were approved and confirmed, the one by St. Peter, the other by St. Paul. So Papias Bishop of Hierapolis and Clemens Alexandrinus say expresly that the Gospel of St. Mark was written at the desire of the new converts, and ratified by St. Peter. So the learned Origen affirms, that the second Gospel is that of Mark, who wrote as Peter dictated to him; and the third Gospel is that of Luke, which is commended by Paul. So Tertullian saith, that Mark's Gospel is affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was; and Luke's

once was a publican, but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ.' See Origen quoted by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, Book VI. Chap. xxv. &c.]

(2) On croit que saint Matthieu commença à travailler à son evangile, la huitiéme année après la resurrection du Sauveur; c'est a dire, l'an 41 de l'ere vulgaire. Presque tous les anciens manuscrits Grecs le marquent ainsi à la fin de son volume. Calmet Preface. Magno consensu perhibent Patres, Matthæum, in gratiam credentium ex Judæis in Palæstina, evangelium suum scripsisse, et quidem, ut multi addunt, Hierosolymis, octavo post ascensionem Christi anno, qui Claudii imperatoris primus fuit. Wetstein. [' It is believed that St. Matthew began to engage in writing his Gospel, in the eighth year after the resurrection of the Saviour; that is, in the forty-first year of the Vulgar Æra. This is marked in almost all the Greek manuscripts at the end of his book.' See Calmet's Preface. ' The Christian fathers, with general consent, declare that Matthew wrote his Gospel, for the sake of believers among the Jews in Palestine, and indeed, as many add, in the city of Jerusalem, in the eighth year after the ascension of Christ, which was the first of the emperor Claudius.' Wetstein.]

(3) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Hieron. Catalog. Script. Eccles. in Pantæno. p. 112. Vol. 4. Par. 2. Edit. Bened.

(4) Papias et Clemens Alex. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 2. Cap. 15. Origen. apud Euseb. Lib. 6. Cap. 25. Tertull. advers. Marcion, Lib. 4. Sect. 5. p. 416. Edit. Rigaltii, Paris. 1675. Hieron. de Script. Eccles. p. 101. Vol. 4. Edit. Benedict, &c. &c.

Gospel they are wont to ascribe to Paul. So Jerome saith, that the Gospel according to Mark, who was the disciple and interpreter of Peter, is said to be Peter's. These authorities are more than sufficient to weigh down the single testimony of Irenæus to the contrary: but besides these Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius, and other fathers might be alleged to prove, that the Gospel of Mark and Luke received the approbation, the one of St. Peter, the other of St. Paul: and it is very well known, that both these apostles suffered martyrdom under Nero. The Gospel of St. Mark must have been written at latest in the reign of Nero; for he died in that reign, in the (5) eighth year of Nero according to Jerome. The Gospel of St. Luke was written before the Acts of the Apostles, as appears from the preface to the latter; and the Acts of the Apostles concluding with St. Paul's dwelling at Rome two years, it is probable that this book was written soon after that time, and before the death of St. Paul. It may be concluded then as certain, that three of the four Gospels were written and published before the destruction of Jerusalem; Dr. Lardner himself, who fixed the time of writing the three first Gospels later than most other authors, yet (6) maintains that they were all published some years before the destruction of Jerusalem; and in all probability the writers themselves were dead before that period; St. Matthew and St. Mark were certainly so; and consequently it cannot with any color of reason be pretended, that the predictions were written after the events. St. John is the only evangelist, who lived and wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem; and he purposely omits these prophecies, to prevent this very cavil, as we may suppose with reason. Neither can it be pretended, that these predictions were (7) interpolations made afterwards, because they are inserted in several places, and

(5) Mortuus est autem octavo Neronis anno. [' But he died in the eighth year of Nero's reign.] De Script. Eccles. p. 105. Vol. 4. Edit. Benedict.

(6) See Vol. 1. of his Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History.

(7) See this argument pursued more at large in Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. 1. p. 72—77.

woven into the very substance of the Gospels; and because they are cited and alluded to by ancient writers, as well as other parts; and because they were not to be accomplished all at once, but required several ages to their perfect completion; and we see them, in some instances, fulfilling to this very day.

In the conclusion of the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, our Saviour had with the most merciful severity, with the most compassionate justice, pronounced the sentence of desolation upon Jerusalem; (ver. 37, 38.) *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate.* In like manner, upon another occasion, when he was approaching to Jerusalem, (Luke xix. 41, 42.) *he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.* So deeply was our Saviour affected, and so tenderly did he lament over the calamities, which were coming upon his nation! Such a generous and amiable pattern of a patriot spirit hath he left to his disciples; and so contrary to truth is the insinuation of a (8) noble writer, that there is nothing in the Gospels to recommend and encourage the love of one's country.

When our Saviour uttered that pathetic lamentation recorded in the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, he was in the temple, speaking to a mixt audience of his disciples and the multitude: and as he was departing out of the temple, (ver. 1st. of the twenty-fourth chapter) *his disciples came to him for to shew him the buildings of the temple,* intimating what a pitiable calamity they thought it, that so magnificent a structure should be destroyed. In the other Gospels they are represented as saying, (Mark xiii. 1.) *Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here;* and as speaking of the temple,

(8) Shaftsbury's Characteristics. Vol. I. p. 99.

(Luke xxi. 5.) *how it was adorned with goodly stones, and gifts.* The gifts of ages were reposited there, the (9) presents of kings and emperors as well as the offerings of the Jews: and as the whole temple was built with the greatest cost and magnificence, so nothing was more stupendous than the uncommon measure of the stones. The disciples appear to have admired them particularly, and to have thought them very extraordinary; and indeed they were of a size almost incredible. Those (1) employed in the foundations were in magnitude forty cubits, that is above sixty feet, a cubit being somewhat more than a foot and a half: and the superstructure was worthy of such foundations. There were some stones of the whitest marble forty-five cubits long, five cubits high, and six cubits broad, as a priest of the temple hath described them.

Such a structure as this, one would have expected, might have endured for many generations, and was indeed worthy of the highest admiration; but notwithstanding our Saviour assures his disciples, (ver. 6.) *There shall not be left here one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down.* Our Saviour in his prophecies frequently alludes to phrases and expressions used by the ancient prophets; and as the prophet Haggai (ii. 15.) expresseth the building of the temple by *a stone being laid upon a stone,* so Christ expresseth the destruction of it by *one stone not being left upon another.* In the same manner he speaketh of and to the city, (Luke xix. 44.) *They shall lay thee even with the ground, and shall not leave in*

(9) Vide Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 13. Sect. 6. Edit. Hudson.

(1) πετραι δε τεσσαρακονταπηχεις το μεγεθος ησαν τυ δομηματος. Saxis vero in exstructione usi sunt quadragenorum cubitorum magnitudinis. [The size of the stones used for the foundation of the building, was forty cubits.] Ην δε αξια των τοιουτων θεμελιων και τα ὑπερ αυτων εργα. Tantis autem fundamentis digna erant opera illis imposita. [The magnificence of the superstructure was worthy of such a foundation.] των δε εν αυτω λιθων ενιοι μηκος πεντε και τεσσαρακοντα πηχων ησαν, ὑψος πεντε, ευρος δε ἑξ. Saxorum autem quibus exstructum erat templum, quædam erant xlv cubitos longa, alta v. et lata vi. [Some of the stones with which the temple was reared, were forty-five cubits in length, five in heighth, and sixth in breadth.] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 5. Sect. 1, 2, 6. Edit. Hudson.

thee one stone upon another. It is a proverbial and figurative manner of expression, to denote an utter destruction: and the prophecy would have been amply fulfilled, if the city and temple had been utterly ruined, though every single stone had not been overturned. But it happened in this case, that the words were almost litterally fulfilled, and scarce *one stone was left upon another*. For when the Romans had taken Jerusalem (2), Titus ordered his soldiers to dig up the foundations both of all the city and the temple. The temple was a building of such strength and grandeur, of such splendor and beauty, that it was likely to be preserved, as it was worthy to be preserved, for a monument of the victory and glory of the Roman empire. Titus was accordingly very desirous of preserving it, and (3) protested to the Jews, who had fortified themselves within it, that he would preserve it, even against their will. He had (4) expressed the like desire of preserving the city too, and sent Josephus and other Jews again and again to their countrymen, to persuade them to a surrender. But an over-ruling providence directed things otherwise. The Jews themselves (5) first set fire to the porticos of the temple, and then the Romans. One of the soldiers, (6) neither waiting for any command, nor trembling for such an attempt, but urged by a certain divine impulse, threw a burning brand in at the golden window, and

(2) κελευει Καισαρ ηδη την τε πολιν απασαν και τον νεων κατασκαπτειν. jubet eos Cæsar totam funditus jam evertere civitatem et templum. ['Cæsar now orders them to dig up the whole city and the temple from their foundations,'] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. p. 1295. Edit. Hudson.

(3) τηρησω δε τον ναον υμιν και μη θελουσι. Vobis autem etiam invitis templum servabo. ['But I will preserve the temple even against your will.'] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. vi. Cap 2. Sect. 4. p. 1269. Edit. Hudson.

(4) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. Cap. 9. Sect. 2, &c. Cap. 11. Sect. 2, Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

(5) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 2. Sect. 9. Edit. Hudson.

(6) ενθα δη των στρατιωτων τις, ουτε παραγγελμα περιμεινας, ουτε επι τηλικουτω δεισας εγχειρηματι, δαιμονιω ορμη τινι χρωμενος, κ. τ. λ. Quo tempore miles quidam, non expectato cujusquam mandato, neque tantum facinus veritus, divino quodam impetu fretus, &c. ['When one of the soldiers, neither waiting for the word of command, nor fearing to perpetrate such an action, but hurried on by a certain divine impulse,' &c.] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 5. p. 1278. Edit. Hudson.

thereby set fire to the buildings of the temple itself. Titus (7) ran immediately to the temple, and commanded his soldiers to extinguish the flame. But neither exhortations nor threatnings could restrain their violence. They either could not hear, or would not hear; and those behind encouraged those before to set fire to the temple. He was still for preserving the holy place. He commanded his soldiers even to be beaten for disobeying him: but their anger, and their hatred of the Jews, and a certain warlike vehement fury overcame their reverence for their general, and their dread for his commands. A soldier in the dark set fire to the doors: and thus, as Josephus (8) says, the temple was burnt against the will of Cæsar. Afterwards, as we (9) read in the Jewish Talmud and in Maimonides, Turnus Rufus, or rather (1) Terentius Rufus, who was left to command the army at Jerusalem, did with a ploughshare tear up the foundation of the temple; and thereby signally fulfilled those words of Micah, (iii. 12.) *Therefore shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field.* Eusebius (2) too affirms, that it was ploughed up by the Romans, and he saw it lying in ruins. The (3) city also shared the same fate, and was burnt and destroyed as well as the temple. The (4) Romans burnt the extremest parts of the city, and demolished the walls. Three (5) towers only, and some part of the wall were left standing, for

(7) Joseph. ibid. Sect. 6, et 7.

(8) ὁ μεν ουν ναος ὑτω;, ακουλος Καισαρος, εμπιπραλαι. Et templum quidem hoc modo exuritur, invito Cæsare. ['And thus the temple was burnt contrary to the will of Cæsar.'] Sect. 7. p. 1279.

(9) See them quoted in Lightfoot, Whitby Wetstein, &c. upon the place.

(1) Τερεντιος Ρυφος· ὑτος γαρ αρχων της γραλιας κατελελειπτο. Terentius Rufus; namque is exercitui præfectus relictus erat. ['Terentius Rufus, for he was left commander of the army.'] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 2. p. 1298.

(2) Eusebii Demons. Evangel. Lib. 6. Cap. 13. p. 273. Edit. Paris. 1628.

(3) Joseph de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. Cap. 7. Sect. 2. Cap. 8. Sect. 5. Edit. Hudson.

(4) Ρωμαιοι δε τας τε ισχαλιας τυ εσλεω ενεπρησαν, και τα τειχη καλισκαψαν. Romani vero extremas urbis partes incenderunt, et mœnia funditus everterunt. ['But the Romans set fire to the extremities of the city, and dug up the foundations of the walls.'] Joseph. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 4. p. 1292. Edit. Hudson.

(5) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

the better incamping of the soldiers, and to show to posterity what a city and how fortified the valor of the Romans had taken. All the rest of the city was so demolished and levelled with the ground, that they who came to see it, could not believe that it was ever inhabited. After the city was thus taken and destroyed, (6) great riches were found among the ruins, and the Romans dug it up in search of the treasures, which had been concealed and buried in the earth. So litterally were our Saviour's words accomplished in the ruin both of the city and of the temple: and well might Eleazar (7) say, that God had delivered his most holy city to be burnt, and to be subverted by their enemies: and (8) wish that they all had died, before they saw that holy city demolished by the hands of their enemies, and the sacred temple so wickedly dug up from the foundations.

In this plain manner our Saviour, now drawing near to his fatal hour, foretold the absolute ruin and destruction of the city and temple. The disciples were curious to know more of these events, when they should be, and how they should be; but yet thought it not proper to ask him at present, the multitude probably still flocking about him: and therefore they take an opportunity of coming unto him *privately as he was setting upon the mount of Olives*, from whence was a good prospect of the city and temple, and there prefer their request to him, (ver. 3.) *Tell us when these things shall be, and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?* These are only different expressions to denote the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem; for when they conceived would

(6) Joseph. ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 2.

(7) προηκατο δε την ἱερωτατην αυτου πολιν πυρι και κατασκαφαις πολεμιων. Urbemque sibi sacratissimam tradidisset hostibus ut incendio periret et funditus diruerctur. ['And he hath delivered up his most holy city to the enemy, to be burnt with fire, and to be dug up from its foundations.'] Joseph. ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 6. p. 1318.

(8) αλλ' ειθε παντες ἐτεθνηκειμεν, πριν την ἱεραν εκεινην πολιν χερσιν ιδειν κατασκαπτομενην πολεμιων, πριν τον ναον τον ἁγιον ὑπως ανοσιως εξορωρυγμενον. Atque utinam omnes fuissemus mortui, priusquam illam sacram civitatem hostium manibus exscindi videremus, priusquam templum tantá impietate funditus erui. ['And I wish we had all died, sooner than seen that holy city utterly destroyed by the hands of the enemy, and that holy temple thus impiously dug up from its foundations.'] Joseph. ibid. Sect. 7. p. 1322. Edit. Hudson.

be the destruction of Jerusalem, then they conceived would be the coming of Christ; and when they conceived would be the coming of Christ, then they conceived would be *the end of the world*, or (9) rather (as it should be rendered) *the conclusion of the age*. *The end of the world or the conclusion of the age* is the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem; for there being two ages (as they were called) among the Jews, the one under the law, the other under the Messiah; when the city and temple were destroyed, and the Jewish polity in church and state was dissolved, the former age must of course be concluded, and the age under the Messiah be commenced. It is true the phrase συντελεια του αιωνος most usually signifies *the end of the world* properly so called; as in the parable of the tares (Matt. xiii. 39.) *the harvest is* συντελεια του αιωνος *the end of this world; As therefore the tares* (ver. 40.) *are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be* εν τη συντελεια του αιωνος τουτου *in the end of this world.* And again (ver. 49.) *So shall it be* εν τη συντελεια του αιωνος *at the end of the world, the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just.* In like manner our Saviour says to his disciples (Matt. xxviii. 20.) *Lo, I am with you alway,* εως της συντελειας του αιωνος *even unto the end of the world.* But here the phrase appears to be used much in the same manner as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, (ix. 26.) *But now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself; in the end of the world,* επι συντελεια των αιωνων, in the conclusion of the Jewish age or ages: And these, I think, are all the places where the phrase occurs in scripture. *The coming of Christ* is also the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem, as may appear from several places in the Gospels, and particularly from these two passages. *There are some standing here,* saith our blessed Lord, (Matt. xvi. 28.) *who shall not taste of death till they see the son of man coming in his kingdom,* that is evidently, there are some standing here who shall live, not till the end of the world, to the coming of Christ

(9) συντελια του αιωνος. [Translated in the text.]

to judge mankind, but till the destruction of Jerusalem, to the coming of Christ in judgment upon the Jews. In another place (John xxi. 22.) speaking to Peter concerning John, he saith, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* what is it to thee, if I will that he live till the destruction of Jerusalem? as in truth he did, and longer. *The coming of Christ* and *the conclusion of the age* being therefore only different expressions to denote the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem, the purport of the question plainly is, *when shall the destruction of Jerusalem be, and what shall be the signs of it?* In the parallel place of St. Mark (xiii. 4.) the question is put thus, *When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled?* In the parallel place of St. Luke (xxi. 7.) the question is put thus, *When shall these things be, and what sign will there be when these things shall come to pass?* So that the disciples ask two things, first the *time* of the destruction of Jerusalem, *when these things shall be*; and secondly the *signs* of it, *and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled* as it is in St. Mark, *and what will be the sign when these things shall come to pass* as it is in St. Luke, *and what shall be the sign of thy coming and of the conclusion of the age* as it is in St. Matthew. The latter part of the question our Saviour answereth first, and treateth of the *signs* of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem from the 4th to the 31st verse inclusive; and then passeth on to the other part of the question concerning the *time* of his coming: And these two heads of our Saviour's answer shall likewise in the same method and order be made the subject of this and some subsequent discourses.

Our blessed Saviour treateth of the signs of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem from the 4th to the 31st verse inclusive; by *signs* meaning the circumstances and accidents, which should forerun, usher in, and attend this great event: and I am persuaded the whole compass of history cannot furnish us with a prophecy more exactly fulfilled in all points than this hath been.

False Christs our Saviour mentions as the first sign

of his coming, (ver. 4 and 5.) *Take heed that no man deceive you for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many.* With this he begins in all the evangelists, and in all useth almost the very same words; only in St. Luke (xxi. 8.) he addeth *the time draweth near*; and indeed within a little time this part of the prophecy began to be fulfilled. For very soon after our Saviour's decease appeared Simon Magus, (Acts viii. 9, 10.) *and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: to whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God.* He boasted himself likewise (1) among the Jews, as the Son of God. Of the same stamp and character was also (2) Dositheus the Samaritan who pretended that he was the Christ foretold by Moses. In the reign of Claudius, about twelve years after the death of our Saviour, when Cuspius Fadus was procurator of Judea, a certain impostor named Theudas, persuaded a great multitude with their best effects to follow him to the river Jordan; for he said that he was a prophet, and promised to divide the river for their passage, and saying these things he deceived many, (3) saith Josephus. But Fadus sent a troop of horse against them, who falling unexpectedly upon them, killed many, and made many prisoners; and having taken Theudas himself alive, they cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem. A few years afterwards in the reign of Nero, and under the procuratorship of Felix,

(1) Irenæi Lib. 1. Cap. 20. p. 94. Edit. Grabe. Theodoret. Hæretic. Fab. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. p. 192. Vol. 4. Edit. Paris 1642.

(2) και μετα τον Ιησουν δε χρονους ηθελησε και ὁ Σαμαρευς Δοσιθεος πεισαι Σαμαρεις, ὁτι αυτος ειη ὁ προφητευομενος ὑπο Μωσεως Χριστος· και εδοξε τινων τα ἑαυτου διδασκαλια κεκρατηκεναι. Post Jesu tempora voluit et Dositheus quidem Samarita suis persuadere, se esse Christum illum, quem Moyses prædixerat, visusque est nonnullos sibi sua doctrina conciliare. ['And after the time of Jesus, the Samaritan, Dositheus, wished to persuade the Samaritans that he was the Christ prophesied of by Moses; and he seemed to gain some by his teaching.'] Origen contra Celsum, Lib. 1. p. 372. Vide etiam Lib. 6. p. 638. Vol. 1. In Matt. Tract. 27. p. 851. Col. 2. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(3) και ταυτα λεγων πολλους ηπατησεν. et hujusmodi sermonibus plurimos decepit. ['And saying these things he deceived many.'] Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 4. Sect. 1. p. 886. Edit Hudson.

these impostors arose so frequent, that (4) many of them were apprehended and killed every day. They seduced great numbers of the people still expecting the Messiah; and well therefore might our Saviour caution his disciples against them.

The next signs he giveth of his coming are several terrible calamities, as wars and rumours of wars, famins, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places, (ver. 6 and 7.) *And ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars; see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famins, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places.* Accordingly there were *wars and rumors of wars*, as appears in all the historians of those times, and above all in Josephus. To relate the particulars would indeed be to transcribe great part of his history of the Jewish wars. There were more especially *rumors of wars*, (5) when Caligula the Roman emperor ordered his statue to be set up in the temple of Jerusalem, which the Jews refused to suffer, and persisted in their refusal; and having therefore reason to apprehend a war from the Romans, were in such a consternation that they omitted even the tilling of their lands: but this storm was soon blown over, and their fears were dissipated by the timely death of that emperor.

It is said moreover, that *nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom.* Here, as (6) Grotius well

(4) τουτων μεν ὁ Φηλιξ πολλους καθ' ἑκαστην ἡμεραν——λαμβανων ανηρει horum quidem multos,—quotidie captos, Felix sustulit. ['Felix apprehending many of them day after day, caused them to be put to death.'] Joseph. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 5. p. 892.

(5) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 18. Cap. 9. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 10. Edit. Hudson. Philo contra Flaccum. Tacitus Hist. Lib. 5.

(6) Indicat Christus majores quam sub Caio evenerant cædes imminere ultimis temporibus Claudianis, et Neronis principatu. Illud εθνος επι εθνος significat Judæos et qui aliarum erant gentium iisdem in civitatibus morantes mutuis inter se cædibus collidendos; quod contigit Cæsareæ primum, deinde Scythopoli, Ptolemaide, Tyri, Gadaris, rursum Alexandriæ, deinde et Damasci. Illud autem βασιλεια επι βασιλειαν significat tetrarcharum aut provinciarum aperta inter se bella.—Huc referri debet Judæorum in Peræa habitantium bellum adversus Philadelphenos ob finium controversiam, Cuspio Fado

observes, Christ declares that greater disturbances than those which happened under Caligula, should fall out in the latter times of Claudius, and in the reign of Nero. That of *nation against nation* portended the dissentions, insurrections, and mutual slaughter of the Jews and those of other nations, who dwelt in the same cities together: as particularly at (7) Cæsarea, where the Jews and Syrians contended about the right of the city, which contention at length proceeded so far, that above twenty thousand Jews were slain, and the city was cleared of the Jewish inhabitants. At this blow the (8) whole nation of the Jews were exasperated; and dividing themselves into parties, they burnt and plundered the neighbouring cities and villages of the Syrians, and made an immense slaughter of the people. The Syrians in revenge destroyed not a less number of the Jews, and every city, as (9) Josephus expresseth it, was divided into two armies. At (1) Scythopolis the inhabitants compelled the Jews who resided among them to fight against their own countrymen, and after the victory basely setting upon

procuratore; Judæorum et Galilæorum bellum adversus Samaritas, procuratore Cumano; postremo bellum primum a sicariis quos vocabant, deinde ab universa Judæorum gente sumtum adversus Romanos et Agrippam aliosque Romani imperii socios, quod initium habuit Gessio Floro procuratore. ['Christ declares that greater slaughter should fall out in the latter years of Claudius, and in the reign of Nero, than had taken place in the time of Caligula. That expression of "*nation against nation*," portends that the Jews, and the people of other nations dwelling in the same cities, should mutually kill one another. This happened first at Cesarea, then at Scythopolis, Ptolemais, Tyre, Gadara, again at Alexandria, and afterwards at Damascus. That of "*kingdom against kingdom*," designates the open wars of tetrarchs, and provinces against one another. Of this kind was the war of the Jews dwelling in Perea, against the Philadelphians, during the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus; the war of the Jews and Galileans against the Samaritans, during the procuratorship of Cumanus; and lastly, the first war carried on by those that were called assassins, and afterwards by the whole Jewish nation against the Romans, against Agrippa, and the allies of the Roman people, which began during the procuratorship of Gessius Florus.'] Grot.

(7) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 7. &c. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 7. Cap. 18. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.

(8) Ibid. Cap. 18. Sect. 1.

(9) Ibid. Sect. 2. και πασα πολις εις δυο διηρηλο στρατοπεδα, et unaquæque civitas in duos divisa erat exercitus. ['And every city was divided into two armies.'] P. 1095.

(1) Ibid. Sect. 3. Vita Josephi. Sect. 6.

them by night, murdered above thirteen thousand of them, and spoiled their goods. At (2) Ascalon they killed two thousand and five hundred, at Ptolemais two thousand, and made not a few prisoners. The Tyrians put many to death, and imprisoned more. The people of Gadara did likewise, and all the other cities of Syria, in proportion as they hated or feared the Jews. At Alexandria (3) the old enmity was revived between the Jews and Heathens, and many fell on both sides, but of the Jews to the number of fifty thousand. The (4) people of Damascus too conspired against the Jews of the same city, and assaulting them unarmed, killed ten thousand of them. That of *kingdom against kingdom* portended the open wars of different tetrarchies and provinces against one another: as (5) that of the Jews who dwelt in Peræa against the people of Philadelphia concerning their bounds, while Cuspius Fadus was procurator: and (6) that of the Jews and Galilæans against the Samaritans, for the murder of some Galilæans going up to the Feast at Jerusalem while Cumanus was procurator; and (7) that of the whole nation of the Jews against the Romans and Agrippa and other allies of the Roman empire, which began while Gessius Florus was procurator. But as (8) Josephus saith, there was not only sedition and civil war throughout Judea, but likewise in Italy, Otho and Vitellius contending for the empire.

It is farther added, *and there shall be famins, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places.* There were *famins,* as particularly that prophesied of by Agabus,

(2) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 18. Sect. 5.
(3) Ibid. Sect. 7. et 8.
(4) Ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 2.
(5) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 1. Sect. 1.
(6) Ibid. Cap. 5. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 12. Sect. 3, &c.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 17.
(8) Ου μονον δε κατα την Ιουδαιαν ϛασις ην και πολεμος ευφυλιος· αλλα και επι της Ιταλιας. Verum non solum per Judæam erat seditio et bellum civile, sed etiam in Italia. ['But there was not only sedition and a civil war throughout Judea, but also in Italy.] De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 9. p. 1200.

and mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, (xi. 28.) and by (9) Suetonius and other prophane historians referred to by Eusebius, *which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar,* and was so severe at Jerusalem, that, as (1) Josephus saith, many perished for want of victuals.—And *pestilences,* for these are the usual attendants upon famins. Scarcity and badness of provisions almost always end in some epidemical distemper. We see many died by reason of the famin in the reign of Claudius: and (2) Josephus farther informs us, that when Nigger was killed by the Jewish zealots, he imprecated besides other calamities famin and pestilence upon them, (λιμοντε και λοιμον the very words used by the evangelist) all which, saith he, God ratified and brought to pass against the ungodly,—*And earthquakes in divers places,* as particularly that (3) in Crete in the reign of Claudius, mentioned by Philostratus in the life of Apollonius, and those also mentioned by Philostratus at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, in all which places some Jews inhabited; and those (4) at Rome mentioned by Tacitus; and that (5) at Laodicea in the reign of Nero mentioned by Tacitus, which city was overthrown, as were likewise Hierapolis and Colosse; and that in (6) Campania, mentioned by Seneca; and that

(9) Suetonius in Claudio 18. Taciti Annal. Lib. 12. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 8.

(1) πολλων ὑπ' ενδειας αναλωματων φθειρομενων, multis alimentorum inopia pereuntibus. [' Many perishing through want of necessary food'.] Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 2. Sect. 6. p. 881. Ibid. Cap. 4. Sect. 2. Edit. Hudson.

(2) ἁ δη παντα κατα των ασεβων εκυρωσεν ὁ Θεος. Quæ sane universa contra improbos rata habuit Deus. [' All which things God ratified against the wicked.'] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 1. p. 1186. Edit. Hudson.

(3) Gravis terræ motus qui in Creta accidit Claudio imperante meminit Philostratus in vita Apollonii. Item terræ motuum Smyrnæ, Miletia, Chii, Sami paulo ante tempora excisæ urbis Hierosolymorum. [' Philostratus in his life of Apollonius, makes mention of a dreadful earthquake, which happened in Crete, during the reign of Claudius. He also takes notice of earthquakes at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, a little before the destruction of the city of Jerusalem.'] Grot. in locum.

(4) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 12. p. 91. Edit. Lipsii.

(5) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 14. p. 113. Edit. Lipsii. Orosius Lib. 7. Cap. 7. p. 473. Edit. Havercamp.

(6) Nat. Quæst. Lib. 6. Cap. 1.

at (7) Rome in the reign of Galba mentioned by Suetonius; and that in Judea, mentioned by (8) Josephus. For by night there broke out a most dreadful tempest, and violent strong winds with the most vehement showers, and continual lightnings, and horrid thundrings, and prodigious bellowings of the shaken earth: and it was manifest, as he saith, that the constitution of the universe was confounded for the destruction of men: and any one might easily conjecture, that these things portended no common calamity.

To these St. Luke addeth (xxi. 11.) that *there shall be fearful sights and great signs from heaven.* Josephus in (9) the preface to his history of the Jewish war, undertakes to relate the signs and prodigies, which preceded the taking of the city: and he relates accordingly, that (1) a star hung over the city like a sword, and the comet continued for a whole year; that (2) the

(7) Suet. Galb. Cap. 18.

(8) Josep. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Sect. 5. διὰ γαρ της νυκλος αμηχανος ἐκρηγνυται χειμων, ανεμοι τε βιαιοι συν ομβροις λαβροτατοις και συνεχεις αστραπαι. βρονται δὲ φρικωδεις, και μυκημαῖα σειομενης της γης ἐξαισια· προδηλον δ' ην, ἐπ' ανθρωπων ολεθρῳ, το καταστημα των ὁλων συγκεχυμενον· και ουχι μικρᾳ τις αν εικασαι συμπτωματος τα τερατα. Nocte enim gravissima erumpit tempestas, ventusque violentus cum imbre vehementi conjunctus, et crebra fulgura, horrendaque tonitrua, et ingentes terræ concussæ mugitus: manifestumque erat hominum in exitium, mundi statum fuisse conturbatum: eratque ut quis conjiceret ea non vulgares portendere calamitates. [‘For during the night, there burst forth a most violent storm, and strong winds accompanied with the heaviest rains, and constant flashes of lightning, and horrible thunderings, and prodigious roarings of the shaken earth. And it was evident that the constitution of the universe was thrown into confusion for the destruction of men; and any one might divine that these were the forerunners of no common calamities.’] P. 1181. Edit. Hudson.

(9) και τα προ τουτης σημεια και τερατα. quæque præcesserant signa et prodigia. [‘The signs and the wonders which preceded this.’] Sect. 11. p. 957.

(1) ὑπερ την πολιν αστρον ἐσχε ῥομφαια παραπλησιον, και παρατεινας ἐπ' ενιαυτον κομητης, supra civitatem stetit sidus simile gladio, et anni spatio ardere perseverabat cometes. [‘Over the city a star hung in the shape of a sword, and a comet continued a whole year.’] Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. p. 1281.

(2) αθροιζομενῳ τῳ λαῳ προ της των Αζυμων ἑορτης,—καῖα νυκλος εσταλην ὡραν, τοσουτον φως περιελαμψε τον βωμον και τον ναον, ὡς δοκειν ἡμεραν ειναι λαμπραν, και τουτο παρετεινεν ἐφ' ἡμισειαν ὡραν. populo ad festum diem Azymorum congregato—hora noctis nona, tanta lux circa altare templumque circumfusa est, ut dies clarus esse videretur, atque hoc horæ dimidiæ spatio duravit. [‘When the people were assembled to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread,—At the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round about the altar and temple, that it seemed to be bright day, and this lasted for the space of half an hour.’] Ibid.

people being assembled to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, at the ninth hour of the night there shone so great a light about the altar and the temple, that it seemed to be bright day, and this continued for half an hour; that (3) at the same feast a cow, led by the priest to sacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the middle of the temple; that (4) the eastern gate of the temple, which was of solid brass and very heavy, and was scarcely shut in an evening by twenty men, and was fastened by strong bars and bolts, was seen at the sixth hour of the night opened of its own accord, and could hardly be shut again; that (5) before the setting of the sun there were seen over all the country chariots and armies fighting in the clouds, and besieging cities; that (6) at the feast of Pentecost, as the priests were going into the inner temple by night as usual to attend their service, they heard first a motion and noise, and then a voice as of a multitude saying, Let us depart hence; and (7) what he reckons as the most terrible of all, that

(3) και κατα την αυτην ἑορτην βȣς μεν αχθεισα ὑπο τȣ αρχιερεως προς την θυσιαν, ἑτεκεν αρνα εν τω ἱερῳ μεσῳ. in eadem quoque solennitate, vacca, cum a pontifice ad sacrificium adduceretur, agnum in medio templo enixa est. [' At the same feast also, a cow led by the priest to sacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple.'] Ibid.

(4) ἡ δε ανατολικη πυλη κ. τ. λ. sed et janua, &c. [' And the eastern gate,' &c.] Ibid.

(5) προ ἡλιȣ δυσεως ωφθη μετεωρα περι πασαν την χωραν ἁρματα και φαλαγγες ενοπλοι διαττȣσαι των νεφων, και κυκλȣμεναι τας πολεις· ante solis occasum per universam regionem currus in aere sublimes ferri, et armitæ phalanges per nubes discurrere, urbesque circumvallare sunt visæ. [' Before the setting of the sun there were seen over the whole country, in the air, chariots and armies equipped for war, skirmishing through the clouds, and besieging cities.] Ibid. p. 1282.

(6) κατα δε την ἑορτην, ἡ Πεντεκοστη λαλεῖται, νυκτωρ οἱ ἱερεις παρελθοντες εις το ενδον ἱερον, ὡσπερ αυτοις ἐθος ην προς τας λειτȣργιας, πρῶτον μεν κινησεως αντιλαβεσθαι εφασαν και κτυπȣ, μετα ταυτα και φωνης ἀθροας, μεταβαινωμεν εντευθεν· Festo autem die qui Pentecoste appellatur, sacerdotes noctu templum ingressi ad obeunda ex more ministeria, primùm quidem motum ac strepitum se exaudisse dixerunt, tum deinde vocem quasi confertæ multitudinis simul clamantis, Migremus hinc. [' On the festival which is called Pentecost, the priests by night having come into the inner temple, to perform their service, as was their custom, they reported that they heard first a motion and a noise, and then the voice as it were of a great crowd, saying, Let us depart hence.'] Ibid.

(7) το δε τȣτων φοβερωτερον. Ιησȣς γαρ τις κ. τ. λ. Quod vero his omnibus terribilius est, Jesus quidam, &c. [' And what was more terrible than all the rest, there was one Jesus,' &c.] Ibid.

one Jesus, an ordinary country fellow, four years before the war began, when the city was in peace and plenty, came to the feast of tabernacles, and ran crying up and down the streets day and night, 'A voice from 'the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four 'winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a 'voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, a voice 'against all the people.' The magistrates endeavoured by stripes and torture, to restrain him; but he still cried with a mournful voice, 'Woe woe to Jerusalem!' This he continued to do for seven years and five months together, and especially at the great festivals; and he neither grew hoarse nor was tired: but went about the walls, and cried with a loud voice, 'Woe woe to the 'city, and to the people, and to the temple;' and as he added at last, 'Woe woe also to myself,' it happened that a stone from some sling or engin immediately struck him dead. These were indeed *fearful signs and great sights from heaven:* and there is not a more creditable historian than the author who relates them, and who appeals to the testimony of those who saw and heard them. But it may add some weight to his relation, that Tacitus, the Roman historian, also gives us a summary account of the same occurrences. He saith that (8) there happened several prodigies, armies were seen engaging in the heavens, arms were seen glittering, and the temple shone with the sudden fire of the clouds, the doors of the temple opened suddenly, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were departing, and likewise a great motion of their departing. Dr. Jortin's (9) remark is very pertinent. "If Christ "had not expresly foretold this, many, who give little

(8) Evenerant prodigia—Visæ per cœlum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expassæ repente delubri fores, et audita major humanâ vox, Excedere deos. Simul ingens motus excedentium. ['Prodigies happened.—Armies were seen engaging in the heavens.—Arms appeared glittering.—The temple shone with the sudden fire of the clouds.—The doors of the temple were suddenly thrown wide open, and a voice more than human was heard, that the gods were departing, and at the same time a great motion of their departing.'] Tacit. Hist. Lib. 5. p. 217. Edit. Lipsii.

(9) Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. 1. p. 41.

" heed to portents; and who know that historians have " been too credulous in that point, would have suspected " that Josephus exaggerated, and that Tacitus was " misinformed; but as the testimonies of Josephus and " Tacitus confirm the predictions of Christ, so the " predictions of Christ confirm the wonders recorded " by these historians."—But even allowing all that incredulity can urge—that in the great calamities of war, and famin, and pestilence, the people always grow superstitious, and are struck with religious panics;—that they see nothing then but prodigies and portents, which in happier seasons are overlooked;—that some of these appear to be formed in imitation of the Greek and Roman historians, as particularly the cow's bringing forth a lamb;—that armies fighting in the clouds, seen in calamitous times in all ages and countries, are nothing more than meteors, such as the aurora borealis;—in short, allowing that some of these prodigies were feigned, and others were exaggerated, yet the prediction of them is not the less divine on that account. Whether they were supernatural, or the fictions only of a disordered imagination, yet they were believed as realities, and had all the effects of realities, and were equally worthy to be made the objects of prophecy. *Fearful sights and great signs from heaven* they certainly were, as much as if they had been created on purpose to astonish the earth.

But notwithstanding all these terrible calamities our Saviour exhorts his diciples not to be troubled. The Jews may be under dreadful apprehensions, as they were particularly in the case of Caligula above mentioned; but *be not ye troubled, for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet*, but the destruction of Jerusalem is not yet. *All these are* only *the beginning of sorrows* (ver. 8.) αρχη ωδινων. Great troubles and calamities are often expressed in scripture-language metaphorically by the pains of traveling women. All these are only the first pangs and throws, and are nothing to that hard labor which shall follow.

From the calamities of the nation in general, he passeth to those of the Christians in particular: and indeed the former were in great measure the occasion of the latter; famins, pestilences, earthquakes, and the like calamities being reckoned judgments for the sins of the Christians, and the poor Christians being often maltreated and persecuted on that account, as we learn from some of the earliest apologists for the Christian religion. Now the calamities which were to befall the Christians were cruel persecutions, (ver. 9.) *Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated of all nations,* not only of the Jews but likewise of the Gentiles, *for my name's sake.* St. Mark and St. Luke are rather more particular. St. Mark saith (xiii. 9, 11.) *They shall deliver you up to councils; and in the synagogues ye shall be beaten, and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them. But when they shall lead you, and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost.* St. Luke saith (xxi. 12, 13, 14, 15.) *But before all these they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogue, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimony. Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before what ye shall answer. For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist.* We need look no farther than the Acts of the Apostles for the completion of these particulars. There are instances enow of the sufferings of some Christians, and of the deaths of others. Some *are delivered to councils,* as Peter and John, (iv. 5, &c.) Some are *brought before rulers and kings,* as Paul before Gallio, (xviii. 12.) Felix, (xxiv.) Festus and Agrippa, (xxv.) Some have *a mouth and wisdom which all their adversaries were not able to gainsay nor resist,* as it is said of Stephen, (vi. 10.) that *they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by*

which he spake, and Paul made even Felix to *tremble,* (xxiv. 25.) and the gospel still prevailed against all opposition and persecution whatever. Some are *imprisoned,* as Peter and John. (iv. 3.) Some are *beaten,* as Paul and Silas. (xvi. 23.) Some are *put to death,* as Stephen, (vii. 59.) and James the brother of John. (xii. 2.) But if we would look farther, we have a more melancholy proof of the truth of this prediction, in the persecutions under Nero, in which (besides numberless other Christians) fell those (1) two great champions of our faith, St. Peter and St. Paul. And it was *nominis prælium,* as (2) Tertullian calleth it; it was a war against the very name. Though a man was possessed of every human virtue, yet it was crime enough, if he was a *Christian;* so true were our Saviour's words, that they should be hated of all nations *for his name's sake.*

But they were not only to be hated of all nations, but were also to be betrayed by apostates and traitors of their own brethren, (ver. 10.) *And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another.* By reason of persecution *many shall be offended,* and apostatize from the faith; as particularly those mentioned by St. Paul in his second Epistle to Timothy, (i. 15.) *Phygellus and Hermogenes, who with many others in Asia turned away from him,* and (vi. 10.) *Demas who forsook him, having loved this present world.* But they shall not only apostatize from the faith, but also *shall betray one another, and shall hate one another.* To illustrate this point we need only cite a sentence out of Tacitus speaking of the persecution under Nero. At first, says (3) he, several were seised who confessed, and then by their discovery a great multitude of others were convicted and barbarously executed,

(1) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 25.

(2) Tertul. Apol., Cap. 2. p. 4. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris. 1675.

(3) Primò correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, &c. [' At first a few were laid hold on who confessed, by their evidence great multitudes were afterwards convicted. Mockery was used also in putting them to death,' &c.] Tacit. Annal. Lib. 15. p. 128. Edit. Lipsii.

False teachers too and false prophets were to infest the church, (ver. 11.) *And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.* Such particularly was Simon Magus, and his followers the Gnostics were very numerous. Such also were the Judaizing teachers, *false apostles,* as they are called by St. Paul, (2 Cor. xi. 13.) *deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ.* Such also were *Hymeneus* and *Philetus,* of whom the apostle complains (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.) that they affirmed *the resurrection to be past already, and overthrew the faith of some.*

The genuin fruit and effect of these evils was lukewarmnesss and coolness among Christians, (ver. 12.) *And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.* By reason of these trials and persecutions from without, and these apostacies and false prophets from within, the love of many to Christ and his doctrin, and also their love to one another, shall wax cold. Some shall openly desert the faith, (as ver. 10.) others shall corrupt it, (as ver. 11.) and others again (as here) shall grow indifferent to it. And (not to mention other instances) who can hear St. Paul complaining at Rome (2 Tim. iv. 16.) that *at his first answer no man stood with him, but all men forsook him;* who can hear the divine author of the Epistle to the Hebrews exhorting them (x. 25.) *not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is;* and not conclude the event to have sufficiently justified our Saviour's prediction.

But he that shall endure unto the end; (ver. 13.) but he who shall not be terrified by these trials and persecutions; he who shall neither apostatize from the faith himself, nor be seduced by others; he who shall not be ashamed to profess his faith in Christ, and his love to the brethren; *the same shall be saved,* saved both here and hereafter. *There shall not an hair of your head perish,* as it is in St. Luke: (xxi. 18.) and indeed it is very remarkable, and was certainly a most signal act of providence, that none of the Christians perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. So true and prophetic also was that assertion of

St. Peter upon this same occasion, (2 Pet. ii. 9.) *The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations.*

But notwithstanding the persecutions and calamities of the Christians, there was to be an universal publication of the gospel before the destruction of Jerusalem, (ver. 14.) *And this gospel of the kingdom* (this gospel of the kingdom of God) *shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come;* and then shall the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the Jewish polity come to pass; when all nations shall be or may be convinced of the crying sin of the Jews in crucifying the Lord of glory, and of the justice of God's judgments upon them for it. The Acts of the Apostles contain only a small part of the history of a small part of the Apostles; and yet even in that history we see, the gospel was widely disseminated, and had taken root in the most considerable parts of the Roman empire. As early as in the reign of Nero, (4) the Christians were grown so numerous at Rome, as to raise the jealousy of the government, and the first general persecution was commenced against them under pretence of their having set fire to the city, of which the emperor himself was really guilty, but willing to transfer the blame and odium upon the poor innocent Christians. Clement, who was a contemporary and fellow-laborer with St. Paul, (5) says of him in particular, that he was a preacher both in the east and in the west, that he taught the whole world righteousness, and traveled as far as to the utmost borders of the west: and if such were the labors of one apostle, though the chiefest of the apostles, what were the united labors of them all? It appears indeed from the writers of the history of the church, that before the destruction of Jerusalem the

(4) Tacit. Annal. Lib. 15.

(5) κηρυξ γενομενος εκτε τη ἀναϛολη και εν τη δυσει,—δικαιοσυνην διδαξας ὁλον τον κοσμον, και επι το τερμα της δυσεως ελθων. Præco factus in oriente ac occidente.—totum mundum docens justitiam, et ad occidentis terminum veniens. [' He was a preacher in the east and west.—The whole world was taught righteousness by him. In his travels he came to the utmost bounds of the west.'] Clem. Epist. ad Corinth. 1. Cap. 5.

gospel was not only preached in the lesser Asia, and Greece, and Italy, the great theatres of action then in the world; but was likewise propagated as far northward as Scythia, as far southward as Ethiopia, as far eastward as Parthia and India, as far westward as Spain and Britain. Our ancestors of this island seem to have lain as remote from the scene of our Saviour's actions as almost any nation, and were a (6) rough inhospitable people, as unlikely to receive so civilized an institution as any people whatever. But yet there is (7) some probability, that the gospel was preached here by St. Simon the apostle; there is much greater probability, that it was preached here by St. Paul; and there is absolute certainty that Christianity was planted in this country in the days of the apostles, before the destruction of Jerusalem. Agreeably to this (8) Eusebius informs us, that the apostles preached the gospel in all the world; and some of them passed beyond the ocean to the Britannic iles. Theodoret likewise (9) affirms, that the apostles had induced every nation and kind of men to embrace the gospel, and among the converted nations he reckons particularly the Britons. St. Paul himself in his Epistle to the Colossians (i. 6, 23.) speaketh of the gospel's being *come into all the world, and preached to every creature under heaven:* and in his Epistle to the Romans (x. 18.) very elegantly applies to the lights of the church what the Psalmist said of the lights of heaven, *their sound went into all the earth and their words unto the ends of the world.* But how improbable, and in all human ap-

(6) Britannos hospitibus feros. ['Britons of inhospitable strain.'] Hor. Od. III. IV. 33.

(7) See Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ. Chap. 1. Collier's Eccles. Hist. Book. I. Usserii Britan. Eccles. Antiquates. Cap. I, &c.

(8) ὑπερ τον ωκεανον παρελθειν επι τας καλεμενας Βρεττανικας νησους.—trans oceanum evasisse, ad eas insulas quæ Brittanicæ vocantur. ['They passed over the ocean to the islands called Britannia.'] Demons. Evangel. Lib. 3. Cap. 5. p. 112. Edit. Paris. 1628.

(9) Theod. Serm. 9. Tom. 4. p. 610. Edit. Paris. 1642. Και ου μονον Ρωμαιους—αλλα και—Βρεττανους—και απαξαπλως παν εθνος και γενος ανθρωπων—κ. τ. λ. neque solum Romanos—sed et—Britannos—atque, ut semel dicam, omne hominum genus nationesque omnes, &c. ['And not only the Romans—but also the Britons,—and in one word, every nation and kindred of mankind,' &c.]

pearance impossible was it, that a few poor fishermen and such inferior illiterate persons should propagate and establish a new religion, in so short a space of time, throughout the world? Doubtless it was not man's but God's work, and from the same divine spirit proceeded both the prophecy and the completion!

We have deduced the prophecies as low as to the siege of Jerusalem; and now let us stop to make a few short reflections upon what has been said.

The first reflection that naturally occurs, is the strange and surprising manner in which these prophecies have been fulfilled, and the great argument that may thence be drawn for the truth of our Saviour's divine mission: but we shall have a fitter opportunity for enlarging upon this hereafter.

Another reflection we may make on the sincerity and ingenuity of Christ, and the courage and constancy of his disciples. Had Jesus been an impostor, he would, like all other impostors, have fed his followers with fair hopes and promises: but on the contrary we see, that he denounced persecution to be the lot of his disciples, he pointeth out to them the difficulties they must encounter, the fiery trials they must undergo; and yet they did not therefore stagger in their faith, they did not therefore, like faint-hearted soldiers, forsake their colors and desert his service. One hardly knoweth whom to admire most, him for dealing so plainly with them, or them for adhering so steadily to him. Such instances are rarely found of openness on one side, and of fidelity on the other.

A third reflection we may make on the sudden and amazing progress of the Gospel, that it should spread so far and so wide before the destruction of Jerusalem. The greatness of the work that was wrought, the meanness of the instruments which wrought it, and the short time that it was wrought in, must force all considering men to say (Psal. cxviii. 23.) *This is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes.* The Mohammedan religion indeed in less than a century overran a great part of the world; but then it was propagated by the sword, and

owed its success to arms and violence. But the Christian religion was diffused over the face of the earth in the space of forty years, and prevailed not only without the sword but against the sword, not only without the powers civil and military to support it, but against them all united to oppress it. And what but the Spirit of God could bid it thus go forth (Rev. vi. 2.) *conquering and to conquer? Had this counsel or this work been of men,* as Gamaliel argued, (Acts v. 28.) *it would have come to nought; but being of God nothing could overthrow it.*

A fourth reflection we may make (and it is the last that I shall make) that seldom any state is ruined, but there are evident signals and presages of it. Few people have their fate particularly foretold by prophets, like the Jews; nor indeed can the fate of any people be so particularly foretold, the time, the manner, and all the circumstances preceding and succeeding, without divine inspiration. So many passages and circumstances cannot be particularly foretold unless particularly revealed; but in the general, without the spirit of prophecy, it is no difficult matter to perceive when cities and kingdoms are tending toward their final period and dissolution. There are as certain tokens and symptoms of a consumption and decay in the body politic, as in the body natural. I would not presage ill to my country; but when we consider the many hainous and presumptuous sins of this nation, the licentiousness and violation of all order and disciplin, the daring insolence of robbers and smugglers in open defiance of all law and justice, the factions and divisions, the venality and corruption, the avarice and profusion of all ranks and degrees among us, the total want of public spirit and ardent passion for private ends and interests, the luxury and gaming and dissoluteness in high life, and the laziness and drunkenness and debauchery in low life, and above all that barefaced ridicule of all virtue and decency, and that scandalous neglect, and I wish I could not say contempt of all public worship and religion; when we consider these things, these signs of the times, the stoutest and most sanguin of us all must tremble at the natural and pro-

bable consequences of them. God give us grace, that we may *know* (Luke xix. 42.) *at least in this our day, the things which belong unto our peace,* before *they are hid from our eyes.* Never may such blindness happen to us, as befel the Jews; but may we (Is. lv. 6, 7.) *seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near; and return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon us, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.*

XIX.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART II.

THE preceding discourse was concerning the *signs* of the destruction of Jerusalem, that is the circumstances and accidents, which were to be the forerunners and attendants of this great event. Those are already specified which passed before the siege, and now we proceed to treat of those which happened during the siege and after it. Never was prophecy more punctually fulfilled, and it will be very well worth our time and attention to trace the particulars.

When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth let him understand) Then let them which be in Judea, flee into the mountains. (ver. 15 and 16.) Whatever difficulty there is in these words, it may be cleared up by the parallel place in St. Luke, (xxi. 20, 21.) *And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains* So that *the abomination of desolation* is the Roman army, and *the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place* is

the Roman army besieging Jerusalem. This, saith our Saviour, is *the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet,* in the ninth and eleventh chapters; and so let every one who readeth those prophecies, understand them. The Roman army is called *the abomination* for its ensigns and images which were so to the Jews. As Chrysostom affirms (1) every idol and every image of a man was called *an abomination* among the Jews. For this reason as (2) Josephus informs us, the principal Jews earnestly intreated Vitellius, governor of Syria, when he was conducting his army through Judea against Aretas king of the Arabians, to lead it another way; and he greatly obliged them by complying with their request. We farther learn from (3) Josephus, that after the city was taken, the Romans brought their ensigns into the temple, and placed them over against the eastern gate, and sacrificed to them there. The Roman army is therefore fitly called *the abomination,* and *the abomination of desolation,* as it was to desolate and lay waste Jerusalem: and this army's besieging Jerusalem is called *standing where it ought not,* as it is in St. Mark; (xiii. 14.) or *standing in the holy place,* as it is in St. Matthew; the city and such a compass of ground about it being accounted holy. When therefore the Roman army shall advance to besiege Jerusalem, then let them who are in Judæa consult their own safety, and fly into the mountains. This counsel was wisely remembered, and put in practice by the Christians afterwards. Josephus informs us, that when Cestius Gallus came with

(1) ἅπαν εἰδωλον, καὶ πᾶν τύπωμα ἀνθρώπου παρὰ τοις Ἰουδαιοις βδελυγμα ἐκαλειτο· omne simulacrum et hominis effigies apud Judæos appellabatur abominatio. ['Every idol, and every image of a man, by the Jews was called an abomination.'] Advers. Judæos V. Orat. V. p. 645. Vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(2) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 18. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. Edit. Hudson.

(3) κομισαντες τας σημαιας εις το ἱερον, και θεμενοι της ἀναλωλικης πυλης ἀντικρυς, ἐθυσαν τε αυταις ἐκειθι· signis in templum illatis positisque contra portam orientalem, et illis ibi sacrificarunt. ['Having brought their standards into the temple, and having placed them opposite to the eastern gate, they sacrificed to them in that place.'] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Sect. 1. p. 1283. Edit Hudson.

his army against Jerusalem, (4) many fled from the city as if it would be taken presently: and after his retreat, (5) many of the noble Jews departed out of the city, as out of a sinking ship: and a few years afterwards, when Vespasian was drawing his forces towards Jerusalem, (6) a great multitude fled from Jericho εις την ορεινην *into the mountainous country* for their security. It is probable that there were some Christians among these, but we learn more certainly from (7) ecclesiastical historians, that at this juncture all who believed in Christ left Jerusalem, and removed to Pella and other places beyond the river Jordan, so that they all marvelously escaped the general shipwreck of their country, and we do not read any where that so much as one of them perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. Of such signal service was this caution of our Saviour to the believers.

He prosecutes the same subject in the following verses. *Let him which is on the house-top, not come down to take any thing out of his house.* (ver. 17.) The (8) houses of the Jews, as well as those of the ancient Greeks and Romans, were flat on the top for them to walk upon, and had usually stairs on the outside, by which they might ascend and descend without coming into the house. In the eastern walled cities these flat-roofed houses usually formed continued terraces from one end of the city to the other, which terraces terminated at the gates. He therefore who is walking and regaling himself upon the house-top, let him not come down to take any thing out of his house; but let him instantly pursue

(4) ηδη δε πολλοι διεδρασκον απο της πολεως ως αλωσομενης αυτικα. jamque multi ex civitate diffugiebant, ac si continuo esset expugnanda. ['And now many fled from the city, from a persuasion that it would soon be taken.'] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 19. Sect. 6. p. 1103.

(5) πολλοι των επιφανων Ιουδαιων ωσπερ βαπιζομενης νεως, απηνηχοντο της πολεως· nobilium Judæorum multi, quasi in eo esset navis ut mergeretur, e civitate veluti natando egressi sunt. ['Many of the illustrious Jews departed from the city, as from a sinking ship.'] Ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 1. p. 1105.

(6) Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 8. Sect. 2. p. 1193. Edit. Hudson.

(7) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 5. cum notis Valesii. Epiphanius Adversus Nazaræos. Lib. 1. Tom. 2. Sect. 7. Vol. 1. Edit. Petavii. Idem de Mens. et Pond. Sect. 15. Vol. 2.

(8) See Grotius on the place, and the Miracles of Jesus vindicated by Bp. Pearce, Part IV. p. 27, 28.

his course along the tops of the houses, and escape out at the city-gate as fast as he possibly can. *Neither let him which is in the field, return back to take his clothes.* (ver. 18.) Our Saviour maketh use of these expressions to intimate, that their flight must be as sudden and hasty as Lot's was out of Sodom. And the Christians escaping just as they did was the more providential, because afterwards (9) all egress out of the city was prevented.

And woe unto them that are with child, and unto them that give suck in those days. (ver. 19.) For neither will such persons be in a condition to fly, neither will they be well able to endure the distress and hardships of a siege. This woe was sufficiently fulfilled in the cruel slaughters which were made both of the women and children, and particularly in that grievous famin, which so miserably afflicted Jerusalem during the siege. For as Josephus reports, (1) mothers snatched the food from their infants out of their very mouths: and again in another place, (2) the houses were full of women and children, who perished by famin. But Josephus still relates a more horrid story; and I make no question, that our Saviour with his spirit of prophecy had this particular incident in view. There (3) was one Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, illustrious for her family and riches. She having been stript and plundered of all her substance and provisions by the soldiers, out of necessity and fury killed her own sucking child, and having boiled him devoured half of him, and covering up the rest preserved it for another time. The soldiers soon came allured by the smell of victuals, and threatened to kill her immediately, if she would not produce what she had dressed. But she replied that she had reserved a

(9) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 1. et 10. Edit. Hudson.

(1) μητερες νηπιων εξηρπαζον εξ αυλων των στοματων τας τροφας· matres infantibus cibum ex ipso ore rapiebant. [Translated in the text.] Ib. Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Sect. 3. p. 1245.

(2) και τα μεν τεγη πεπληρωτο γυναικων και βρεφων λελυμενων. ac tecta quidem plena erant mulieribus et infantibus fame enectis. [Translated in the text.] Ib. Cap. 12. Sect. 3. p. 1252.

(3) Ibid. Lib. 6. Cap. 3. Sect. 4.

good part for them, and uncovered the relics of her son. Dread and astonishment seized them, and they stood stupified at the sight. "But this, said she, is my own son, and this my work. Eat, for even I have eaten. Be not you more tender than a woman, nor more compassionate than a mother. But if you have a religious abhorrence of my victim, I truly have eaten half, and let the rest remain for me." They went away trembling, fearful to do this one thing; and hardly left this food for the mother. The whole city was struck with horror, says the historian, at this wickedness: and they were pronounced blessed, who died before they had heard or seen such great evils. So true also was what our Saviour declared on another occasion, when the women were bewailing and lamenting him, as he was led to execution; (Luke xxiii. 28, 29, 30.) *Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.* Proverbial expressions to signify their desire of any shelter or refuge; and so very desirous were they of hiding themselves that (4) some thousands of them crept even into the common-sewers, and there miserably perished, or were dragged out to slaughter.

But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day. (ver. 20.) Pray that these evils be not further aggravated by the concurrence of other natural and moral evils, such as the inclemencies of the seasons and your own superstitions. *Pray that your flight be not in the winter;* for the hardness of the season, the badness of the roads, the shortness of the days, will all be great impediments to your flight: *neither on the sabbath-day:* that you may not raise the indignation of the Jews by travelling on that day, nor be hindered from doing it by your own superstition. It seemeth to be spoken a good deal in condescension to the Jewish pre-

(4) Ibid. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 4.

judices, a sabbath-day's journey among the Jews being but about a mile. In the parallel place of St. Mark (xiii. 18.) it is observable, that the evangelist saith only, *And pray ye that your flight be not in the winter*, without any mention of the sabbath-day.

As our Saviour cautioned his disciples to fly, when they should see Jerusalem encompassed with armies; so it was very providentially ordered, that Jerusalem should be compassed with armies, and yet that they should have such favourable opportunities of making their escape. In the twelfth year of Nero, Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria, came against Jerusalem with a powerful army. He might, as Josephus (5) affirms, if he would have assaulted the city, have presently taken it, and thereby have put an end to the war. But without any just reason, and contrary to the expectation of all, he raised the siege, and departed. Vespasian was deputed in his room to govern Syria, and to carry on the war against the Jews. This great general, (6) having subdued all the country, prepared to besiege Jerusalem, and invested the city on every side. But the news of Nero's death, and soon afterwards of Galba's, and the disturbances which thereupon ensued in the Roman empire; and the civil wars between Otho and Vitellius, held Vespasian and Titus in suspense; and they thought it unseasonable to engage in a foreign war, while they were anxious for the safety of their own country. By these means the expedition against Jerusalem was deferred for some time; and the city was not actually besieged in form, till after Vespasian was confirmed in the empire, and Titus was sent to command the forces in Judea. These incidental delays were very opportune for the Christians, and for those who had any

(5) Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 19. και ειπερ ηθελησε κατ' αυτην εκεινην την ωραν επι τῳ των τειχων βιασασθαι, παρ' αυλικα την πολιν εσχε, και τον πολεμον συνεβη καταλελυσθαι. Et si eadem illa hora voluisset vi muros perrumpere, e vestigio urbem cepisset, bellumque ab ipso confectum fuisse contigisset. [' And if in the same hour, he had been inclined to break through the walls of the city by force, he instantly would have taken it, and put an end to the war.'] Sect. 4. p. 1102. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Joseph. ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. Sect. 1, 2, &c.

thoughts of retreating and providing for their own safety. Afterwards there was hardly any possibility of escaping; for as our Saviour said in St. Luke's Gospel, (xiv. 43) *The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side.* Accordingly the Romans having begirt Jerusalem with their forces, and having made several assaults without the desired success, (7) Titus resolved to surround the city with a wall; and by the diligence and emulation of the soldiers, animated by the presence, and acting under the continual inspection of the general, this work, which was worthy of months, was with incredible speed completed in three days. The wall was of the dimensions of thirty-nine furlongs, and was strengthened with thirteen forts at proper distances: so that, as the (8) historian saith, all hope of safety was cut off from the Jews, together with all the means of escaping out of the city. No provisions could be carried in, and no person could come out unknown to the enemy. But to return to St. Matthew.

In the preceding verses our Saviour had warned his disciples to fly, as soon as ever they saw Jerusalem besieged by the Romans; and now he assigns the reason of his giving them this caution. (ver. 21.) *For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world to this time, no nor ever shall be.* St. Mark expresseth it much in the same manner. (xiii. 19.) *For in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation which God created, unto this time, neither shall be.* This seemeth to be a proverbial form of expression, as in Exodus, (x. 14.) *And the locusts were very grievous, before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such:* and again in Joel (ii. 2.) *A great people and a strong, there hath*

(7) Joseph. ibid. Lib. 5. Cap. 12. Sect. 1 et 2.

(8) Ιουδαιοις δε μιλα των εξοδων απεκοπη πασα σωτηριας ελπις. Judæis autem cum egrediendi facultate spes quoque omnis salutis præcisa erat. ['But along with all means of escaping, all hope of safety was cut off to the Jews.'] Sect. 3. p. 1252. Edit. Hudson.

not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it even to the years of many generations. Of the same kind is that in Daniel, (xii. 1.) *There shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time:* and that in the first book of Maccabees, (ix. 27.) *There was great affliction in Israel, the like whereof was not since the time that a prophet was not seen amongst them.* Our Saviour therefore might fitly apply the same manner of speaking upon the present occasion: but he doth not make use of proverbial expressions without a proper meaning, and this may be understood even litterally. For indeed all history cannot furnish us with a parallel to the calamities and miseries of the Jews; rapin and murder, famin and pestilence within; fire and sword, and all the terrors of war without. Our Saviour wept at the foresight of these calamities, and it is almost impossible for persons of any humanity to read the relation of them in Josephus without weeping too. That historian might therefore well say, as he doth in (9) the preface to his history, 'Our city of all those which have 'been subjected to the Romans, was advanced to the 'highest felicity, and was thrust down again to the ex-'tremest misery: for if the misfortunes of all from the 'beginning of the world were compared with those of 'the Jews, they would appear much inferior upon the 'comparison:' and again in another (1) place he saith, 'To speak in brief, no other city ever suffered such 'things, as no other generation from the beginning of 'the world was ever more fruitful of wickedness.' St. Luke expresseth the reason thus, (xxi. 22.) *For these*

(9) πολιν γαρ δη των υπο Ρωμαιοις πασων την ημετεραν επι πλειστον τε ευδαιμονιας συνεβη προελθειν, και προς εσχατον συμφορων αυθις καταπεσειν. τα γαρ παντων απ' αιωνος ατυχηματα, προς τα Ιουδαιων, ητιασθαι μοι δοκει κατα συγκρισιν. nam ex omnibus civitatibus, quæ Romanorum jugum subierunt, nostræ sane contigit ad summum felicitatis pervenisse, ac deinde in extremam calamitatem incidisse, namque omnium ab omnis ævi memoria res adversæ, si cum iis conferantur quæ Judæis acciderunt, longe ab illis superari mihi videntur. [Translated in the text.] Josephi Procm. Sect. 4. p. 955.

(1) συνελοντα δ' ειπειν, μητε πολιν αλλην τοιαυτα πεπονθεναι, μητε γενεαν εξ αιωνος γεγονεναι κακιας γονιμωτεραν. illud autem brevitur dici potest, neque aliam urbem talia perpessam esse, neque hominum genus aliud ab omni ævo sceleratius exstitisse. [Translated in the text.] Lib. 5. Cap. 10. Sect. 5. p. 1246.

be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled. These be the days of vengeance, wherein the calamities foretold by Moses, Joel, Daniel, and other prophets, as well as those predicted by our Saviour shall all meet as in one common center, and be fulfilled with aggravation on this generation. *These be the days of vengeance* too in another sense, as if God's vengeance had certain periods and revolutions, and the same days were fatal to the Jews, and destinated to their destruction. For it is very memorable, and matter of just admiration according to (2) Josephus, that the temple was burnt by the Romans in the same month, and on the same day of the month, as it was before by the Babylonians.

Nothing so violent can be of long continuance. These calamities were so severe, that like fire, they must in time have consumed all, and have left nothing for themselves to prey upon. *And except those days should be shortened there should no flesh be saved.* (ver. 22.) If these wars and desolations were to continue, none of the Jews would escape destruction, they would all be cut off root and branch. I think (3) Josephus computes the number of those who perished in the siege at eleven hundred thousand, besides those who were slain in other places: and if the Romans had gone on destroying in this manner, the whole nation of the Jews would certainly in a little time have been extirpated. *But for the elect's sake,* but for the sake of the Christian Jews, *those days shall be shortened. But for the elect's sake, whom he hath chosen, the Lord hath shortened the days,* as it is expressed in St. Mark. (xiii. 20.) *The elect* is a well known appellation in scripture and antiquity for the Christians;

(2) Lib. 6. Cap. 4. Sect. 5. Θαυμασαι δ' αν τις εν αυτη της περιοδε την ακριβειαν. και μηνα γαρ, ως εφην, και ημεραν επετηρησε την αυθην, εν η προτερον υπο Βαβυλωνιων ο ναος ενεπρησθη. est autem ut mirari quis possit in eo accuratam circumacti temporis rationem, nam eundem, ut dictum est, mensem et diem servavit, quo prius templum a Babyloniis exustum fuerat. ['One cannot help admiring here, an exact coincidence in respect of time. For the temple was burnt by the Romans in the same month, and on the very day wherein it had been formerly consumed by the Babylonians.'] Sect. 8. p. 1279. Edit. Hudson.

(3) Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 3.

and the Christian Jews, partly through the fury of the Zelots on one hand, and the hatred of the Romans on the other, and partly through the difficulty of subsisting in the mountains without houses or provisions, would in all probability have been almost all destroyed either by the sword or by famin, if the days had not been shortened. But providentially the days were shortened. Titus himself (4) was desirous of putting a speedy end to the siege, having Rome and the riches and the pleasures there before his eyes. Some of his officers (5) proposed to him to turn the siege into a blockade, and since they could not take the city by storm, to starve it into a surrender: but he thought it not becoming to sit still with so great an army; and he feared lest the length of the time should diminish the glory of his success; every thing indeed may be effected in time, but celerity contributes much to the fame and splendor of actions. The besieged too helped to shorten the days by (6) their divisions and mutual slaughters; by (7) burning their provisions, which would have sufficed for many years; and by (8) fatally deserting their strongest holds, where they could never have been taken by force, but by famin alone. By these means *the days were*

(4) Ipsi Tito Roma, et opes, voluptatesque ante oculos; ac ni statim Hierosolyma considerent, morari videbantur. ['Unless Jerusalem had quickly fallen, time would have appeared tedious to Titus, who had the wealth and pleasures of Rome in view.'] Tacit. Hist. Lib. 5. p. 247. Edit. Lipsii.

(5) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. 12. Sect. 1. αυτῳ δε το μεν αργειν καθολυ μετα τοσαυτης δυναμεως ουκ εδοκει πρεπειν. Ipsi autem Tito cessare quidem prorsus tanto cum exercitu honestum non videbantur. ['It appeared to him (Titus,) very unbecoming to be idle, having so great an army under his command'] διεδιεναι τε μη την δοξαν του κατορθωματος αυτῳ το μηκος ελαττωση του χρονου. τουτῳ μεν γαρ ειναι πασαν ανυσιμον, προς δε της ευκλειας το ταχος. metuendumque ne successus gloriam ipsi diminuat temporis longitudo, hac enim cuncta quidem effici posse, sed ad gloriam facere celeritatem. ['He was afraid lest the length of time should take away from the splendor of his success, he knew that all things might be executed in time, but that celerity in the execution adds to their glory.'] p. 1251. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Ibid. Cap. 1, &c.

(7) Sect. 4. ὡς αν αυτοις ουκ επ' ολιγα διηρκεσεν ετη πολιορκουμενοις· quod non paucis annis illis sufficere potuisset obsessis. ['Which would have sufficed the besieged for many years.'] p. 1213.

(8) Lib. 6. Cap. 8. Sect. 4. εφ' ὡν βια μεν ουδεποτ' ἁλωναι, μονῳ δ' εδυναντο λιμῳ· in quibus vi quidem nunquam, sola vero fame expugnari poterant. ['Wherein by force they could never have been taken, but only by famine.'] p. 1289.

shortened; and indeed otherwise Jerusalem could never have been taken in so short a time, so well fortified as it was, and so well fitted to sustain a longer siege. The enemy without could hardly ever have prevailed but for the factions and seditions within. Titus himself could not but ascribe his success to God, as he was viewing the fortifications, after the city was taken. His words to his friends were very remarkable. "We have fought, (9) said he, with God on our side; and it is God who hath pulled the Jews out of these strong holds; for what could the hands of men or machines against these towers?" *God* therefore, in the opinion of Titus as well as of St. Mark, *shortened the days.* After the destruction of Jerusalem too, God inclined the heart of Titus to take some pity upon the remnant of the Jews, and to restrain the nations from exercising the cruelty that they would have exercised towards them. At Antioch particularly (where the disciples were first called Christians) (1) the senate and the people earnestly importuned him to expel the Jews out of the city; but he prudently answered, that their country whither they should return being laid waste, there was no place that could receive them. Then they requested him to deprive the Jews of their former privileges, but those he permitted them to enjoy as before. Thus *for the elect's sake those days of* persecution *were shortened.*

Our blessed Lord had cautioned his disciples against false Christs and false prophets before, but he giveth a more particular caution against them about the time of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. (ver. 23 and 24.) *Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo here is Christ or there, believe it not; For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, insomuch that (if it were possible) they shall deceive the*

(9) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1. συν Θεῳ γ' επολεμησαμεν, εφη, και Θεος ην ὁ τωνδε των ερυμαλων Ιυδαιους καθελων, επει χειρες τε ανθρωπων η μηχαναι τι προς τηνδε τας πυργους δυνανται; Deo, inquit, favente bellavimus, Deus est, qui Judæos ex istis munimentis detraxit; nam humanæ manus et machinæ quid contra tales turres valeant? [Translated in the text.] p. 1290.

(1) Joseph. ibid. Lib. 7. Cap. 5. Sect. 2.

very elect. And in fact many such impostors did arise about that time, as we learn from (2) Josephus, and promised deliverance from God, being suborned by the tyrants or governors to prevent the people and soldiers from deserting to the Romans; and the lower the Jews were reduced, the more disposed would they be to listen to these deceptions, and the more ready to follow the deceivers. Hegesippus too in (3) Eusebius mentions the coming of false Christs and false prophets about the same time. But as it was to little purpose for a man to take upon him the character of the Christ, or even of a prophet, without miracles to vouch his divine mission; so it was the common artifice and pretence of these impostors to show *signs and wonders,* σημεια και τερατα, the very words used by Christ in his prophecy, and by (4) Josephus in his history. Simon Magus performed great wonders according to the account that is given of him in the Acts of the Apostles. (viii. 9, 10, 11.) *There was a certain man called Simon, which before time in the same city used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God: And to him they had regard, because that of long time he had bewitched them with sorceries.* Dositheus likewise was reputed to work wonders according to (5) Origen: Barchochebas

(2) πολλοι δ' ησαν εγκαθετοι παρα των τυραννων τοτε προς τον δημον προφηται, προσμενειν την απο τυ Θευ βοηθειαν καλαγγελλοντες, ὡς ἠτλον αυτομολοιεν, και ἱνα ἐπαν ω δεις και φυλακης γινομενης ελπις παρακραλῃ. πειθεται δε ταχεως ανθρωπος εν συμφοραις. Multi autem tunc a tyrannis subornati erant ad populum prophetæ, denunciantes esse auxilium a Deo expectandum, ut populus minus transfugeret, et eos, qui supra metum erant et custodes, spes retineret. Cito autem in adversis homini persuadetur. ['And there were many prophets, suborned by the tyrants, among the common people, who gave out that they might expect help from God, that they might be the less disposed to desert, and that hope might retain them, who were above fear and were the guards of the city. In the time of adversity a man is quickly persuaded.'] Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. p. 1281. Edit. Hudson.

(3) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 22.

(4) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. p. 893. Edit. Hudson. Vide etiam de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 11. Sect. 1.

(5) Contra Celsum, Lib. 6. Cap. 11. p. 638. Vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

too, who (6) Jerome saith pretended to vomit flames. Such also were the Jews, of whom St. Paul speaketh, (2 Tim. iii. 8, 13.) comparing them to *Jannes and Jambres*, famous magicians of Egypt, who *withstood Moses, as these also resisted the truth, men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith,* πονηροι ανθρωποι και γοητες, *wicked men and impostors.* There is a strange propensity in mankind to believe things marvelous and astonishing: and no wonder, that weak and wicked men, Jews and Samaritans, were deceived by such impostors; when if it had been possible they would have deceived *the very elect,* the Christians themselves.

But *behold,* saith our Saviour, *I have told you before.* (ver. 25.) Behold I have given you sufficient warning. *Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth; behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not,* (ver. 26.) It is surprising that our Saviour should not only foretel the appearance of these impostors, but also the manner and circumstances of their conduct. For some he mentions as appearing in *the desert,* and some in *the secret chambers;* and the event hath in all points answered to the prediction. Several of the false Christs and false prophets conducted their followers *into the desert.* Josephus in his (7) Antiquities saith expresly, that many impostors and cheats persuaded the people to follow them *into the desert,* where they promised to show manifest wonders and signs done by the providence of God; and many being persuaded suffered the punishment of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and chastised them. Again in his (8) history

(6) Adversus Rufinum. Lib. 3. Col. 466. Vol. 4. Edit. Benedict.

(7) οἱ δε γοητες και απαλεωνες ανθρωποι τον οχλον επειθον αυτοις εις την ερημιαν ἑπεσθαι. δειξειν γαρ εφασαν εναργη τερατα και σημεια, κατα την του Θεου προνοιαν γινομενα. Και πολλοι πεισθεντες, της αφροσυνης τιμωριας ὑπεσχον. αναχθεντας γαρ αυτους Φηλιξ εκολασεν. Impostores vero et fallaciis pleni homines suadebant multitudini, ut ipsos in solitudinem sequerentur. Se enim ipsis ostensuros dicebant manifesta prodigia et signa, quæ Dei cura et providentia evenirent. Multique, fidem habentes, dementiæ suæ pœnas pertulerunt. Eos quippe retractos Felix supplicio affecit. [Translated in the text.] Ant. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. p. 893. Edit. Hudson.

(8) πλανοι γαρ ανθρωποι και απαλεωνες, προσχηματι θειασμου, νεωτερισμες και μεταβολας πραγματευομενοι, δαιμονιαν το πληθος ανεπειθον, και προηγον

of the Jewish war, speaking of the same persons he saith, that these impostors, under a pretence of divine inspiration, affected innovations and changes, persuaded the multitude to grow mad, and led them forth *into the desert*, as if God would there show them the signs of liberty. Against these Felix, for it seemed to be the foundation of a revolt, sent horse and foot soldiers, and slew a great number of them. The Egyptian false prophet mentioned by (9) Josephus, and in the Acts of the Apostles, (xxi. 38.) *led out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers:* but Felix marching with his forces, and coming to an engagement with him, the Egyptian himself with a few others fled away, and most of those who had been with him were slain or taken prisoners. There was likewise another impostor mentioned by (1) Josephus, who promised salvation to the people, and a cessation of all evils, if they would follow him *into the desert;* but Festus sent horse and foot against him, and destroyed the deceiver himself, and those who followed him. These things happened

εις την ερημιαν, ὡς εκει τω Θεω δειξοντι αυτοις σημεια ελευθεριας· επι τουτοις ὁ Φηλιξ, εδοκει γαρ αποστασεως ειναι καταρχη, πεμψας ἱππεις και πεζους ὁπλιτας, πολυ πληθος διεφθειρε. Nam homines seductores et fallaciis pleni specie divini afflatus, novis rebus et mutationibus studentes, vulgo ut insanirent persuadebant, et proficiebant in solitudinem; ac si illic Deus ostensurus esset eis signa libertatis. Contra istos (inde enim videtur oritura esse insurrectio) milites, tam pedites quam equites, misit Felix, magnumque eorum numerum interfecit. [Translated in the text.] De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 4. p. 1075.

(9) Antiq. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 6. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 5. ὡστε συμβολης γενομενης, τον μεν Αιγυπτιον φυγειν μετ' ολιγων, διαφθαρηναι δε και ζωγρηθηναι πλειους των συν αυτω. Facto igitur congressu, Ægyptius quidem ipse cum paucis evasit; plurimique eorum cum eo erant partim trucidati, partim vivi capti sunt. [' So that a battle having ensued, the Egyptian escaped with a few, but the greater part of his followers were either slain or made prisoners.'] p. 1076.

(1) πεμπει δε Φηστος δυναμιν ἱππικην τε και πεζικην επι τους απατηθεντας απο τινος ανθρωπου γοητος, σωτηριαν αυτοις επαγγελλομενου και παυλαν κακων, ει βουληθειεν ἑπεσθαι μεχρι της ερημιας αυτω. και αυτον τε εκεινον τον απατησαντα, και τους ακολουθησαντας διεφθειραν οι πεμφθεντες. Quin et Festus equestres pedestresque copias contra eos misit, qui decepti erant ab homine quodam præstigiatore, salutem ipsis pollicente et malorum cessationem, si se usque ad desertum sequi vellent; atque ipsum deceptorem, pariter ac eos qui illum comitati sunt, interfecerunt milites ab eo missi. [' But Festus sends a force of horse and foot against them who had been deceived by a certain impostor who had promised to them safety and an end to their evils, if they would follow him into the wilderness. They that were sent put to death both the deceiver and his followers.'] Ant. Lib. 20. Cap. 7. Sect. 10. p. 895.

before the destruction of Jerusalem, and a little after (2) Jonathan a weaver persuaded not a few indigent fellows to adhere to him, and led them forth *into the desert*, promising there to show signs and apparitions; but his followers most were slain, some were made prisoners, and he himself was afterwards taken, and burnt alive by order of Vespasian. As several of these impostors thus conducted their followers into *the desert*, so did others into *the secret chambers* or places of security: as particularly the pseudoprophet mentioned by (3) Josephus, who declared to the people in the city, that God commanded them to go up into the temple, and there they should receive the signs of deliverance. A multitude of men, women, and children, went up accordingly; but instead of deliverance, the place was set on fire by the Romans, and six thousand perished miserably in the flames, or by throwing themselves down to escape them.

Our Saviour therefore might well caution his disciples both against the former and the latter sort of these deceivers. *For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.* (ver. 27.) His coming will not be in this or that particular place, but like the lightning will be sudden and universal. The appearance of the true Christ will be as distinguishable from that of the false Christ, as lightning which shineth all around the hemisphere is from

(2) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 11. ȣκ ολιγȣς των απορων ανεπεισε προσεχειν αυτῳ, και προεγαγεν εις τον ερεμον, σημεια και φασματα δειξειν ὑπισχνȣμενος. Pauperum et indigentium non paucis, et ipsi se adjungerent, persuasit, et in desertum eduxit, promittens se signa ipsis et apparitiones ostensurum. ['He persuaded not a few indigent persons to adhere to him, and he led them forth into the wilderness, promising to shew them signs and apparitions.'] Sect. 1. p. 1337.

(3) τȣτοις αιτιος της απολειας ψευδοπροφητης τις κατεστη, κατ' εκεινην κηρυξας την ἡμεραν τοις επι της πολεως, ως ὁ Θεος επι το ἱερον αναβηναι κελευει, δεξομενȣς τα σημεια της σωτηριας. His causa interitus erat pseudopropheta quidam, qui illo tempore prædicaverat populo in civitate, "jubere Deum eos in templum ascendere, signa salutis accepturos" ['The cause of their destruction was a certain false prophet who arose at that time, and proclaimed to the inhabitants of the city, that God ordered them to go up into the temple, for there they should receive the signs of their deliverance.'] Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. p. 1281.

a blaze of straw. What a learned (4) Prelate observes from Josephus is very memorable, that the "Roman army "entered into Judea on the east side of it, and carried "on their conquests westward, as if not only the exten- "siveness of the ruin, but the very route, which the "army would take, was intended in the comparison "of the lightning coming out of the east, and shining "even unto the west." *For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.* (ver. 28.) By the word *carcase,* as the same excellent (5) Prelate justly remarks, is meant the Jewish nation, which was morally and judicially dead, and whose destruction was pronounced in the decrees of heaven. Our Saviour, after his usual manner, applied a proverbial expression with a particular meaning. For as, according to the old proverb, *wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together;* so wheresoever the Jews are, there will Christ be taking vengeance upon them by the Romans, who are properly compared to eagles as the fiercest birds of prey, and whose ensign was an eagle, to which probably our Saviour in this passage alluded. And as it was said, so was it done; for the victories of the Romans were not confined to this or that place, but like a flood overran the whole land. Josephus saith that (6) there was no part of Judea, which did not partake of the calamities of the capital city. At Antioch (7) the Jews being falsely accused of a design to burn the city, many of them were burnt in the theatre, and others were slain. The Romans pursued, and took, and slew them every where, as particularly (8) at the siege of Machærus; at (9) the wood Jardes, where the Jews

(4) Bishop Pearce's Dissertation on the destruction of Jerusalem inserted in Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 1. p. 27.

(5) Ditto, p. 22.

(6) ουδεν δε μερος ην της Ιουδαιας, ο μη τη παρουσῃ πολει συναπολλυτο. Nulla autem pars Judææ erat quæ simul cum urbe eminentissima non interibat. [Translated in the text.] De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 7. Sect. 2, p. 1190. Edit. Hudson.

(7) Lib. 7. Cap. 3. Sect. 3.

(8) Ibid. Cap. 6.

(9) Ibid. Sect. 5.

were surrounded, and none of them escaped, but being not fewer than three thousand were all slain; and (1) at Masada, where being closely besieged, and upon the point of being taken, they first murdered their wives and children, and then themselves to the number of nine hundred and sixty, to prevent their falling into the enemies hands. When (2) Judea was totally subdued, the danger extended to those who dwelt at a distance. Many (3) were slain in Egypt, and their temple there was shut up: and (4) in Cyrene the followers of Jonathan a weaver, and author of new disturbances, were most of them slain; he himself was taken prisoner, and by his false accusation three thousand of the richest Jews were condemned and put to death: and with this account Josephus concludes his history of the Jewish war.

There was something so very extraordinary in the conduct of these false Christs and false prophets, and in their appearance at that time particularly, that it may not be improper to bestow some considerations upon this subject especially as these considerations may tend to confirm and strengthen us in our most holy religion.

1. It is obvious to observe from hence, that in all probability there hath been a true prophet, a true Christ, otherwise there would hardly have been so many cheats and counterfeits. Fictions are usually formed upon realities; and there would be nothing spurious, but for the sake of something true and genuin. There would be no bad money, if there was none current and good. There would be no quacks and empirics, if there were no physicians able to perform real cures. In like manner there would be no pretenders to divine inspiration, were none truly and divinely inspired. There would not (we may reasonably presume) have been so many false Messiahs, had not a true Messiah been promised by God, and expected by men. And if a Messiah hath

(1) Ibid. Cap. 9.
(2) Ibid. Cap. 10. Sect. 1.
(3) Ibid. Cap. 10.
(4) Ibid. Cap. 11.

come from God, whom can we so properly pitch upon for the person, as the man Christ Jesus? If there were also some mock prophets in imitation of Mohammed, yet their number was nothing near so considerable, and his success was sufficient to excite and encourage them; whereas the fate and condition of Jesus would rather have deterred any impostors from following his example.

2. Another natural observation from hence is, that the Messiah was particularly expected about the time of our Saviour, and consequently that the prophets had beforehand marked out that very time for his coming. For we read not of any false Messiahs before the age of our Saviour, nor of so many in any age after; and why did they rise at that time particularly, if the Messiah was not at that time particularly expected? and why did the Jews expect their Messiah at that time more than at any other, if that was not the time before appointed for his coming? The prophet Daniel in particular had foretold, (ix. 25, &c.) that Messiah the prince should come towards the end of seventy weeks of years, or 490 years, from the going forth of the decree to restore and rebuild Jerusalem. Before these weeks of years were, by one account or other, near expiring, history saith nothing of the false Messiahs: but when the prophetic weeks drew towards a conclusion, then these impostors arose frequent, like so many meteors to dazzle the eyes, and mislead the wandering steps of Jews and Samaritans. Nothing can be a more evident and convincing proof, that the Jews then understood the prophecy in the same sense as the Christians, however they may endevor to evade the force of it now. They pretend that the coming of the Messiah was delayed for the sins of the people, and therefore they still live in expectation of him, though they know neither the time nor the place of his appearing. Strange! that he who was to come for the sins of the people, should delay his coming for their sins: and more strange still! that God should falsify so many of his promises made by the mouths of his holy prophets. (Num. xxiii. 19.) *God is not a man that he should lie,*

neither the son of man that he should repent: hath he said, and would he not do it? or hath he spoken, and would he not make it good?

3. It may be farther observed from hence, that the Messiah was expected to work miracles. Miracles are the credentials of a messenger from God: and it was foretold particularly of the Messiah, that he should work miracles. There was no pretending therefore to the character of the Messiah without the necessary qualifications. Had not the power of working miracles been esteemed an essential ingredient in the character of the Messiah, these impostors would never have had the assurance to pretend to it, or been so foolish as to hazard their reputation, and venture their whole success upon such an experiment: but all of them to a man drew the people after them with a pretence of working miracles, of showing signs, and wonders, and apparitions. Now the very miracles which the Messiah was to perform, Jesus hath performed, and none other besides Jesus. The prophet Isaiah foretold, that the Messiah should cure the *lame* and the *blind*, the *deaf* and the *dumb*; and accordingly these very persons were cured in great numbers by Jesus. The prophet Isaiah foretold likewise, that these miracles should be wrought in *the desert*; and accordingly in the desert Jesus wrought them: and by the way I suppose this prophecy was one principal reason why most of the false Christs and false prophets led their followers into solitudes and deserts, promising there to show signs and wonders. The prophet Isaiah foretold (xxxv. 1, &c.) *The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose.—They shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.—The eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. The lame man shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing.* The apostle and evangelist St. Matthew relates (xv. 29, &c.) that *Jesus departed from thence* (from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon) *and came nigh unto the sea of Galilee, and went up into a mountain, and sat down there. And great multitudes came unto him, having with*

them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus' feet, and he healed them: insomuch that the multitude wondered when they saw the dumb to speak, the maimed to be whole, the lame to walk, and the blind to see: and they glorified the God of Israel. Since then the miracles of the Messiah were wrought by Jesus alone, Jesus alone can have any just claim to be the Messiah: and from his works we may conclude (John vi. 14.) *This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world.*

4. Very observable is the difference between the conduct and success of these deceivers and of Jesus Christ: for in him we have all the marks and characters of simplicity and truth, in them fraud and imposture. They were men of debauched lives and vicious principles: he *did no sin,* (1 Pet. ii. 22.) *neither was guile found in his mouth;* even Pilate his judge declared (John xix. 6.) that he could *find no fault in him.* They lived by rapin and spoil, by plunder and murder: He (Luke ix. 56.) *came not to destroy mens lives but to save them;* He fed the hungry, healed the sick, and went from place to place doing good. Their conduct breathes nothing but ambition and pride, cruelty and revenge: his behaviour was all humility and meekness, charity and love of mankind. They were actuated by worldly motives, and proposed to themselves secular ends and interests; Jesus was the farthest removed from any suspicion of that kind, and when the people would have taken him (John vi. 15.) *to make him a king,* he withdrew himself from them, *and departed again into a mountain himself alone.* Their pretensions were accommodated to the carnal expectations of the Jews, and withal were backed by force and violence, and yet could not succeed and prosper: on the contrary, the religion of Jesus was spiritual, disclaimed all force, and took the way (humanly speaking) not to prevail, and yet prevailed against all the power and opposition of the world. Now of these who were the deceivers, think you, who was the true Christ? Had Jesus been an impostor, he would have lived and acted like an impostor. Had his design been any thing like theirs,

like theirs it would have been discovered and brought to nought. Nothing could make his religion stand, but its coming from God. This is the reasoning of one, who cannot be suspected to favour the cause of Christianity, the learned Gamaliel in the Jewish Sanhedrim; and to him that great council agreed. (Acts v. 36, &c.) *Before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves; who was slain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered and brought to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him; he also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed. And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God. And to him they agreed.*

5. But tho' the truth will at last prevail over error and imposture, yet it is a melancholy proof of the weakness, and superstition, and enthusiasm of mankind, that these false Christs and false prophets should delude such numbers as they did to their destruction. The false Messiahs had for a time many more disciples and followers than the true Messiah. The Christians were once (Luke xii. 32.) *a little flock.* *The number of the names together* (Acts i. 15.) *were about an hundred and twenty.* Whereas these impostors attracted and drew away great multitudes, one of them (5) six thousand, another (6) even thirty thousand. With a pretence of divine inspiration, they taught the people, as (7) Jo-

(5) Joseph. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. και συμμικτος οχλος πλειστος εις εξακισχιλιους. et plurima multitudo promiscua, ad sex hominum millia. ['And a very great mixed multitude, amounting to six thousand.'] p. 1281. Edit. Hudson.

(6) Lib. 2. Cap. 13. Sect. 5. περι τρισμυριους μεν αθροιζει των ηπατημενων. usque ad triginta hominum millia, quos præstigiis suis deceperat congregavit. ['He draws together thirty thousand of those who were deceived.'] p. 1075, 6.

(7) προσχημαλι θειασμω,—δαιμονιαν το πληθος ανεπειθον. specie divini afflatus,—vulgo ut insanirent persuadebant. ['Under the pretence of divine inspiration,—they persuaded the people to grow mad.'] Ibid. Sect. 4. p. 1075.

sephus expresseth it, δαιμονᾶν to grow enthusiastically mad, as if they were possessed and actuated by some spirit or demon: and indeed no plague or epidemical distemper is more catching and contagious than enthusiasm. It passeth from man to man like wild fire. The imagination is soon heated, and there is rarely judgment enough to cool it again. *The very elect*, even good Christians themselves, if they attend to enthusiasts, will be in danger of taking the infection, and be continually liable to be (Ephes iv. 14.) *tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrin*, if they have not (as all have not) a sufficient ballast of discretion to keep them steddy. In reality enthusiasts know as little of the revelation given us by Christ, as of the reason given us by God. They are blind leaders of the blind. *Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert*, behold his power is experienced in field preaching, *go not forth; behold he is in the secret chambers*, behold his presence is conspicuous in the tabernacles or conventicles, *believe it not.* He is best sought in his word, and in his works; and he will certainly be found by those, and those alone, who love him, not with fanaticism and enthusiasm, but in truth and soberness, so as to keep his commandments, which is the only infallible proof and legitimate issue of love. For as our Saviour himself saith, (John xiv. 23.) *If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.*

6. Once more it is to be observed, that we must not credit every one, who cometh to us with a pretence of working miracles. For the false Christs and false prophets pretended to show great signs and wonders; and yet notwithstanding all their miraculous pretensions, our blessed Lord cautions his disciples not to believe or follow them. But then the question will be naturally asked, If we must not believe those who work miracles, whom must we believe? how shall we know whether a person doth or doth not act by commission from heaven? how shall we distinguish whether the doctrin is of God or of men? Indeed if miracles were not possible to be

wrought at all, as some have pretended: or could be wrought only by God, or those who are commissioned by him, as others have argued; the reply would be obvious and easy: but that miracles are possible to be wrought is a truth agreeable to reason, and that they may be wrought by evil spirits is a supposition agreeable to scripture; and therefore the best answer is, that reason must judge in this case as in every other, and determin of the miracles by the doctrins which they are alledged to confirm. If a doctrin is evil, no miracles can be wrought by a divine power in its behalf; for God can never set his hand and seal to a lie. If a doctrin is good, then we may be certain, that the miracles vouched for it were not wrought by the power of evil spirits; for at that rate, according to our Saviour's argument, (Luke xi. 18.) *Satan would be divided against himself, and his kingdom could not stand.* Good spirits can never confirm and establish what is evil, neither can evil spirits be supposed to promote what is good. Supposing that the miracles pretended in favor of Paganism were all real miracles, yet as they lead men to a corrupt religion and idolatrous worship, no reverence, no regard is to be paid to them, according to the command of Moses, (Deut. xiii. 1, &c.) *If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, And the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods (which thou hast not known) and let us serve them: Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul.* In like manner we must not admit any thing contrary to the doctrins of Christ and his apostles, whatever miracles are boasted to recommend and authorize it. For the doctrins of the Christian religion are not only perfectly agreeable to reason, but moreover God hath confirmed it, amply confirmed it by miracles, and hath enjoined us strictly to adhere to it; and God can never be supposed to work miracles to confirm contradictions: and therefore

allowing (what we cannot reasonably allow) that the miracles of Apollonius and other impostors were true and well attested, yet the foundation of Christ standeth firm, and cannot at all be shaken by them. Should any man, or number of men, with ever so great and confident a pretence to infallibility assert—that it is our duty implicitly to believe and obey the church: when Christ commands us (Matt. xxiii. 9.) *to call no man father upon earth, for one is our Father which is in heaven*—that the service of God is to be performed in an unknown tongue; when St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians hath written a whole chapter (xiv.) expresly against it—that the sacrament of the Lord's supper is to be administered only in one kind; when Christ instituted it, (Matt. xxvi.) and his apostles ordered it (1 Cor. xi.) to be celebrated in both—that the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ is to be repeated in the mass; when the divine author of the Epistle to the Hebrews teacheth us, (x. 10.) that *the body of Jesus Christ was offered once for all*, and (ver. 14.) that *by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified*—that men may arrive at such highths of virtue as to perform works of merit and supererogation; when our Saviour orders us, (Luke xvii. 10.) *after we have done all those things which are commanded us, to say, we are unprofitable servants, we have done* but *that which was our duty to do*—that attrition and confession together with the absolution of the priest will put a dying sinner into a state of grace and salvation; when the scripture again and again declares (Heb. xii. 14.) that *without holiness no man shall see the Lord*, and (1 Cor. vi. 9.) *the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God*—that the souls of men, even of good men, immediately after death pass into purgatory; when St. John is commanded from heaven to write, (Rev. xiv. 13.) *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them*—that we must worship images and the relics of the saints; when our Saviour teacheth us, (Matt. iv. 10.) *that we must worship the Lord God, and him only we must serve*—that we must invocate and adore saints and

angels; when the apostle chargeth us (Col. ii. 18.) to *let no man beguile us of our reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels*—that we must pray to the virgin Mary and all saints to intercede for us; when St. Paul affirms, (1 Tim. ii. 5.) that as there is only *one God*, so there is only *one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus*—that it is lawful to fill the world with rebellions and treasons, with persecutions and massacres, for the sake of religion and the church; when St. James assures us, (i. 20.) that *the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God;* and when Christ maketh universal love and charity the distinguishing mark and badge of his disciples, (John xiii. 35.) *By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another*—I say should any man assert these things so directly contrary to reason and to the word of God, and vouch ever so many miracles in confirmation of them, yet we should make no scruple to reject and renounce them all. Nay we are obliged to denounce anathema against the teacher of such doctrins, though he were an apostle, though he were an angel from heaven: and for this we have the warrant and authority of St. Paul, and to show that he laid particular stress upon it, he repeats it twice with great vehemence, (Gal. i. 8, 9.) *Tho' we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any one preach any other gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed.* Indeed the miracles alleged in support of these doctrins are such ridiculous incredible things that a man must have faith, I do not say to remove mountains, but to swallow mountains, who can receive for truth the legends of the church of Rome. But admitting that any of the Romish miracles were undeniable matters of fact, and were attested by the best and most authentic records of time, yet I know not what the Bishop of Rome would gain by it, but a better title to be thought Antichrist. For we know that the coming of Antichrist, as St. Paul declares, (2 Thess. ii. 9, 10.) *is after the working of Satan*

with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness: and he doeth great wonders in the sight of men, according to the prophecy of St. John, (Rev. xiii. 13, 14.) *and deceiveth them, that dwell on the earth by means of those miracles which he hath power to do.* Nor indeed is any thing more congruous and reasonable, than that *God* (2 Thess. ii. 10, 11.) *should send men strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.*

But to return from this digression, though I hope neither an improper nor unedifying digression, to our main subject.

XX.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART III.

WE are now come to the last act of this dismal tragedy, the destruction of Jerusalem and the final dissolution of the Jewish polity in church and state, which our Saviour for several reasons might not think fit to declare nakedly and plainly, and therefore chooseth to clothe his discourse in figurative language. "He might "possibly do it, as (1) Dr Jortin conceives, to perplex "the unbelieving persecuting Jews, if his discourses "should ever fall into their hands, that they might "not learn to avoid the impending evil." *Immediately after the tribulation of those days, shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.* Commentators generally understand

(1) Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiast. History, Vol. 1. p. 75.

this and what follows of the end of the world and of Christ's coming to judgment; but the words *immediately after the tribulation of those days* show evidently that he is not speaking of any distant event, but of something immediately consequent upon the tribulation before mentioned, and that must be the destruction of Jerusalem. It is true, his figures are very strong, but no stronger than are used by the ancient prophets upon similar occasions. The prophet Isaiah speaking in the same manner of Babylon, (xiii. 9, 10.) *Behold the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate; and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it. For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine.* The prophet Ezekiel speaking in the same manner of Egypt, (xxxii. 7, 8.) *And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark: I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light. And the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord God.* The prophet Daniel speaketh in the same manner of the slaughter of the Jews by the little horn, whether by the little horn be understood Antiochus Epiphanes or the power of the Romans; (viii. 10.) *And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them:* And the prophet Joel of this very destruction of Jerusalem, (ii. 30, 31.) *And I will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood and fire and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come.* Thus it is that in the prophetic language great commotions and revolutions upon earth, are often represented by commotions and changes in the heavens.

Our Saviour proceedeth in the same figurative stile (ver. 30.) *And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in*

the clouds of heaven, and with power and great glory. The plain meaning of it is, that the destruction of Jerusalem will be such a remarkable instance of divine vengeance, such a signal manfestation of Christ's power and glory, that all the Jewish tribes shall mourn, and many will be led from thence to acknowlege Christ and the Christian religion. In the ancient prophets, God is frequently described as coming in the *clouds,* upon any remarkable interposition and manifestation of his power; and the same description is here applied to Christ. The destruction of Jerusalem will be as ample a manifestation of Christ's power and glory, as if he was himself to come visibly in the clouds of heaven.

The same sort of metaphor is carried on in the next verse, (ver. 31.) *And he shall send his angels with the great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.* This is all in the stile and phraseology of the prophets, and stript of its figures meaneth only, that after the destruction of Jerusalem, Christ by his angels or ministers will gather to himself a glorious church out of all the nations under heaven. The Jews shall be *thrust out,* as he expresseth himself in another place, (Luke xiii. 28, 29,) *and they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south; and shall sit down in the kingdom of God.* No one ever so little versed in history needeth to be told, that the Christian religion spread and prevailed mightily after this period; and hardly any one thing contributed more to this success of the gospel, than the destruction of Jerusalem, falling out in the very manner and with the very circumstances so particularly foretold by our blessed Saviour.

What Dr. Warburton hath (2) written upon the same subject will much illustrate and enforce the foregoing exposition. "The prophecy of Jesus, concerning the "approaching destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, is "conceived in such high and swelling terms, that not

(2) Warburton's Julian, Book 1, Chap. 1. p. 21, &c. 2d Edit.

" only the modern interpreters, but the ancient likewise,
" have supposed, that our Lord interweaves into it a
" direct prediction of his second coming to judgment.
" Hence arose a current opinion in *those* times, that the
" consummation of all things was at hand; which hath
" afforded an handle to an infidel objection in *these*, in-
" sinuating that Jesus, in order to keep his followers
" attached to his service, and patient under sufferings,
" flattered them with the near approach of those re-
" wards, which completed all their views and expecta-
" tions. To which, the defenders of religion have op-
" posed this answer, That the distinction of short and
" long, in the duration of time, is lost in eternity, and
" with the Almighty, *a thousand years are but as yes-*
" *terday*," &c.

" But the principle both go upon is false; and if
" what hath been said be duly weighed, it will ap-
" pear, that this prophecy doth not respect Christ's
" *second* coming to judgment but his *first*; in the aboli-
" tion of the Jewish policy, and the establishment of the
" Christian: That kingdom of Christ which commenced
" on the total ceasing of the theocracy. For as God's
" reign over the Jews entirely ended with the abolition
" of the temple-service, so the reign of Christ, *in spirit*
" *and in truth*, had then its first beginning.

" This was the true *establishment* of Christianity, not
" that effected by the donations or conversions of Con-
" stantine. Till the Jewish law was abolished, over
" which the *Father* presided as king, the reign of the
" *Son* could not take place; because the sovranty of
" Christ over mankind, was that very sovranty of God
" over the Jews, *transferred*, and more largely ex-
" tended.

" This therefore being one of the most import-
" ant æras in the œconomy of Grace, and the most
" awful revolution in all God's religious dispensations;
" we see the elegance and propriety of the terms in
" question, to denote so great an event, together with
" the destruction of Jerusalem, by which it was effected;
" for in the old prophetic language the change and fall

" of principalities and powers, whether spiritual or civil, " are signified by the shaking heaven and earth, the " darkening the sun and moon, and the falling of the " stars; as the rise and establishment of new ones are " by processions in the clouds of heaven, by the sound " of trumpets, and the assembling together of hosts and " congregations."

This language, as he observes (3) in another place, was borrowed from the ancient hieroglyphics. " For as " in the hieroglyphic writing, the sun, moon, and stars, " were used to represent states and empires, kings, " queens, and nobility; their eclipse and extinction, " temporary disasters, or entire overthrow, &c. so in like " manner the holy prophets calll kings and empires " by the names of the heavenly luminaries; their mis- " fortunes and overthrow are represented by eclipses and " extinction; stars falling from the firmament are em- " ployed to denote the destruction of the nobility, &c. " In a word, the prophetic style seems to be a speaking " hieroglyphic. These observations will not only assist " us in the study of the Old and New Testament, but " likewise vindicate their character from the illiterate " cavils of modern libertines, who have foolishly mistaken " *that* for the peculiar workmanship of the prophet's " heated imagination, which was the sober established " language of their times, and which God and his Son " condescended to employ as the properest conveyance of " the high mysterious ways of providence in the revela- " tion of themselves to mankind."

To St. Matthew's account St. Luke addeth, (xxi. 24.) *And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.* The number of those who *fell by the edge of the sword*, was indeed very great. Of those who perished during the whole siege, there were, as Josephus (4) saith, eleven hundred thousand. Many were also

(3) Divine Legation. Vol. 2. Book 4. Sect. 4.

(4) των δ' απολωμενων καλα πασαν την πολιορκιαν, μυριαδες ἑνδεκα και δισχιλιοι. totius autem obsidionis tempore undecies centena hominum millia perierunt.

slain (5) at other times and in other places. By the command of Florus, who was the first author of the war, there were slain at Jerusalem (6) three thousand and six hundred: By the inhabitants of Cæsarea (7) above twenty thousand: At Scythopolis (8) above thirteen thousand: At Ascalon (9) two thousand five hundred, and at Ptolemais two thousand: At Alexandria, under Tiberius Alexander the president, (1) fifty thousand: At Joppa, when it was taken by Cestius Gallus, (2) eight thousand four hundred: In a mountain called Asamon near Sepphoris (3) above two thousand: At Damascus (4) ten thousand: In a battle with the Romans at Ascalon (5) ten thousand: In an ambuscade near the same place (6) eight thousand: At Japha (7) fifteen thousand: Of the Samaritans upon Mount Garizin (8) eleven thousand and six hundred: At Jotapa (9) forty thousand: At Joppa, when taken by Vespasian, (1) four thousand two hundred: At Tarichea (2) six thousand five hundred, and after the city was taken twelve hundred: At Gamala (3) four thousand slain, besides five thousand who threw themselves down a precipice: Of those who fled with John from Gischala (4) six thousand: Of the Gadarenes (5) fifteen thousand

['Of them that perished during the whole siege, there were eleven hundred thousand.'] De Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. p. 1291. Edit. Hudson.

(5) Just. Lipsius de Constantia. Lib. 2. Cap. 21. Usher's Annals in the conclusion. Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, B. 1. Chap. 8. Sect. 19.
(6) Joseph. ibid. Lib. 2. Cap. 14. Sect. 9.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 18. Sect. 1.
(8) Ibid. Sect. 3.
(9) Ibid. Sect. 5.
(1) Ibid. Sect. 8.
(2) Ibid. Sect. 10.
(3) Ibid. Sect. 11.
(4) Ibid. Cap. 20. Sect. 2.
(5) Lib. 3. Cap. 2. Sect. 2.
(6) Ibid. Sect. 3.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 31.
(8) Ibid. Sect. 32.
(9) Ibid. Sect. 36.
(1) Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 3.
(2) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 9, 10.
(3) Lib. 4. Cap. 1. Sect. 10.
(4) Ibid. Cap. 2. Sect. 5.
(5) Ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 5.

slain, besides an infinite number drowned: In the villages of Idumea (6) above ten thousand slain: At Gerasa (7) a thousand: At Machærus (8) seventeen hundred: In the wood of Jardes (9) three thousand: In the castle of Masada (1) nine hundred and sixty: In Cyrene by Catullus the governor (2) three thousand. Besides these many of every age, sex and condition, were slain in this war, who are not reckoned; but of these who are reckoned, the number amounts to above one million, three hundred fifty-seven thousand, six hundred and sixty; which would appear almost incredible, if their own historian had not so particularly enumerated them.

But besides the Jews who *fell by the edge of the sword*, others were also to *be led away captive into all nations*: and considering the number of the slain, the number of the captives too was very great. There were taken particularly at Japha (3) two thousand one hundred and thirty: At Jotapha (4) one thousand two hundred: At Tarichea (5) six thousand chosen young men were sent to Nero, the rest sold to the number of thirty thousand and four hundred, besides those who were given to Agrippa: Of the Gadarenes (6) two thousand two hundred: In Idumea (7) above a thousand. Many besides these were taken at Jerusalem, so that as Josephus himself (8) informs us, the number of the captives taken in-

(6) Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect 1.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1.
(8) Lib. 7. Cap. 6. Sect, 4.
(9) Ibid. Sect. 5.
(1) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1.
(2) Ibid. Cap. 11. Sect. 2.
(3) Lib. 3. Cap. 7. Sect. 31.
(4) Ibid. Sect. 36.
(5) Ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 10.
(6) Lib. 4. Cap. 7. Sect. 5.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 1.
(8) των δε νεων τους ὑψηλοτατους και καλους επιλεξας ετηρει τῳ θριαμβῳ· τα δε λοιπα πληθος· τους ὑπερ επτακαιδεκα ετη δησας επεμψεν εις τα κατ' Αιγυπτον εργα, πλειους δ' εις τας επαρχιας διεδωρησατο Τιτος, φθαρησομενους εν τοις θεατροις σιδηρῳ και θηριοις· οἱ δ' εντος επτακαιδεκα ετων επραθησαν.—Των μεν ουν αιχμαλωτων παντων, οσα καθ' ὁλον ελησθη τον πολεμον, αριθμος εννεα μυριαδες και επτακισχιλιοι συνηχθη. juvenes autem lectos, qui proceritate et forma cæteris præstarent, triumpho servabat. Ex reliqua autem multitudine,

the whole war amounted to ninety-seven thousand; the tall and handsome young men Titus reserved for his triumph; of the rest, those above seventeen years of age were sent to the works in Egypt, but most were distributed through the Roman provinces, to be destroyed in their theatres by the sword or by the wild beasts; those under seventeen were sold for slaves. Of these captives many underwent hard fate. Eleven thousand of them (9) perished for want. Titus exhibited all sorts of shows and spectacles at Cæsarea, and (1) many of the captives were there destroyed, some being exposed to the wild beasts, and others compelled to fight in troops against one another. At Cæsarea too in honour of his brother's birth-day (2) two thousand five hundred Jews were slain; and a great number likewise at Berytus in honor of his father's. The like (3) was done in other cities of Syria. Those whom he reserved for his triumph (4) were Simon and John, the generals of the captives, and seven hundred others of remarkable stature and beauty. Thus were the Jews miserably tormented, and distributed over the Roman provinces; and are they not still distressed and dispersed over all the nations of the earth?

As the Jews were *to be led away captive into all nations,* so Jerusalem was to be *trodden down of the Gentiles,*

annis XVII. majores vinctos ad metalla exercenda, in Ægyptum misit; plurimos etiam per provincias distribuit Titus, in theatris ferro et bestiis consumendos. Quicunque vero infra XVII annum ætatis erant, sub corona venditi sunt.—Et captivorum quidem omnium, qui totius belli tempore capti sunt, numerus erat ad nonaginta septem millia. ['Having selected the tallest and finest young men, he reserved them for his triumph. Of the remaining multitude he put in chains those that were above seventeen years of age, and sent them to the works in Egypt. And a very great number Titus distributed in the provinces, to be killed in the theatres by the sword, and by wild beasts. Such as were under seventeen years of age, were sold. The number of all the captives taken, during the whole war, amounted to ninety seven thousand.'] Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 2. et 3. p. 1291. Pro ἐννέα ἐνενηκοντα scripsisse Josephum censet Villalpandus, tom. 3. p. 122. ['Villalpandus thinks that Josephus wrote ἐνενηκοντα ninety, instead of ἐννέα nine.]

(9) Ibid. Sect. 2.
(1) Lib. 7. Cap. 2. Sect. 1.
(2) Ibid. Cap. 3. Sect. 1.
(3) Ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 1.
(4) Ibid. Sect. 3.

until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. And accordingly Jerusalem has never since been in the possession of the Jews, but hath constantly been in subjection to some other nation, as first to the Romans, and afterwards to the Saracens, and then to the Franks, and then to the Mamalucs, and now to the Turks.

Titus, as it was related before, (5) commanded all the city as well as the temple to be destroyed: only three towers were left standing for monuments to posterity of the strength of the city, and so much of the wall as encompassed the city on the west, for barracks for the soldiers who were left there in garrison. All the rest of the city was so totally demolished, that there was no likelihood of its ever being inhabited again. The soldiers who were left there, (6) were the tenth legion, with some troops of horse and companies of foot, (7) under the command of Terentius Rufus. When Titus (8) came again to Jerusalem in his way from Syria to Egypt, and beheld the sad devastation of the city, and called to mind its former splendour and beauty, he could not help lamenting over it, and cursing the authors of the rebellion, who had compelled him to the cruel necessity of destroying so fine a city. Vespasian (9) ordered all the lands of the Jews to be sold for his own use; and all the Jews, wheresoever they dwelt, to pay each man every year the same sum to the capitol of Rome, that they had before paid to the temple at Jerusalem. The desolation was so complete, that Eleazar (1) said to his country-

(5) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 1. Sect. 1. Edit. Hudson.
(6) Ibid. Sect. 2.
(7) Ibid. Cap. 2.
(8) Ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 2.
(9) Ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 6.
(1) ὡς γεγονεν ἡμιν ἡ τον Θεον εχειν οικιστην πεπιστευμενη; πορριζος εκ βαθρων ανηρωσαι, και μονον αυλης μνημειον ὑπολελειπται. το των ανηρκοτων αυτην στρατοπεδον, ετι τοις λειψανοις επoικειν, πρεσβυται δε δυσηνοι τη σπουδη τε τεμενες παρακαθηνται, και γυναικες ολιγαι προς ὑβριν αισχιστην ὑπο των πολεμιων τετηρημεναι. quid de ea factum est, quam Deum habitasse credidimus? Radicitus ex fundamentis evulsa est, et id solum ejus monumentum relictum, castra scilicet illorum a quibus excisa est jam reliquiis ejus imposita. Senes vero infelices templi cineribus assident, et paucæ mulieres ad turpissimam *pudoris* injuriam ab hostibus reservatæ. [Translated in the text.] Ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 7. p. 1322.

men; 'What is become of our city, which was believed 'to be inhabited by God? It is rooted up from the very 'foundations, and the only monument of it that is left, is 'the camp of those who destroyed it, still pitched upon its 'remains. Some unhappy old men sit over the ashes of 'the temple, and a few women reserved by the enemy 'for the basest of injuries.'

The first who (2) rebuilt Jerusalem, though not all exactly on the same spot, was the Roman emperor Ælius Adrian, and he called it after his own name Ælia, and placed in it a Roman colony, and dedicated a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus in the room of the temple of the true God. While he was visiting the eastern parts of the empire, he came to Jerusalem, as (3) Epiphanius informs us, forty-seven years after its destruction by Titus, and found the city all leveled with the ground, and the temple of God trodden under foot, except a few houses: and he then formed the resolution of rebuilding it, but his design was not put into execution till towards the latter end of his reign. The Jews, naturally of a seditious spirit, were inflamed (4) upon this occasion into open rebellion, to recover their native city and country out of the hands of heathen violators and oppressors: and they were headed by a man called (5) *Barchochab*, a vile robber and murderer, whose name signifying the *son of a star*, he confidently pretended that he was the person prophesied of by Balaam in those words, (Numb. xxiv. 17.) *There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.* They were (6) successful in their first enterprises through the neglect of the Romans: and it is probable, as the rebellion was raised for this purpose, that they made themselves masters of Ælia, or the new Jerusalem, and massacred or chased from thence the heathen inhabitants, and the Romans besieged and took it again; for we read in

(2) Dionis. Cass. Hist. Lib. 69. p. 793. Edit. Leunclav. Hanov. 1606.
(3) Epiphan. de Mens. et Pond. Cap. 14. p. 170. Vol. 2. Edit. Petavii.
(4) Dionis. Hist. ibid.
(5) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Vide etiam Scaligeri Animadvers. in Eusebii Chron. p. 236.
(6) Dionis. Hist. ibid.

several authors, in (7) Eusebius, in (8) Jerome, in (9) Chrysostom, and in (1) Appian who lived at that time, that Jerusalem was again besieged by the Romans under Adrian, and was entirely burnt and consumed. However that be, the Jews were at length subdued with a most terrible slaughter; (2) fifty of their strongest castles, and nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns were sacked and demolished; five hundred and eighty thousand men fell by the sword in battle, besides an infinite multitude who perished by famin, and sickness, and fire, so that Judea was almost all desolated. The Jewish (3) writers themselves reckon, that doubly more Jews were slain in this war, than came out of Egypt; and that their sufferings under Nebuchadnezzar and Titus were not so great as what they endured under the emperor Adrian. Of the Jews who survived this second ruin of their nation, (4) an incredible number of every age and sect were sold like horses, and dispersed over the face of the earth. The emperor completed his design, rebuilt the city, re-established the colony, ordered the (5) statue of a hog in marble to be set up over the gate that opened towards Bethlehem, and (6) published an edict strictly forbidding any Jew upon pain of death to enter the city, or so much as to look upon it at a distance.

In this state Jerusalem continued, being better known by the name of Ælia, till the reign of the first christian

(7) Eusеb. Demons. Evang. Lib. 2. Cap. 38. p. 71. Lib. 6. Cap. 18. p. 286. Edit. Paris. 1628.

(8) Hierom. in Jerem. XXXI. Col. 679. in Ezek. V. Col. 725. in Dan. IX. Col. 1117. in Joel. I. Col. 1340. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(9) Orat. V. advers. Judæos. Vol. 1. p. 645. Edit. Benedict.

(1) Appian. De Bell Syr p. 119. Edit. Steph. p. 191. Edit. Tollii.

(2) Dionis Hist ibid. p. 794.

(3) Author libri Juchasin scribit Hadrianum *duplo plures Judæos in hoc bello trucidâsse quam egressi sint ex Ægypto.* Alius libro qui inscribitur מלכירומי, quem Drusius laudat in Præteritis, *Non sic afflixisse eos Nebuchadnezarem neque Titum, sicut Hadrianus imperator.* ['The author of the book Juchazin, writes that Adrian put to death in this war, twice as many Jews as came out of Egypt. Another, in a book entitled Malche-Rome, commended by Drusius in his annals of the New Testament, saith, that neither Nebuchadnezzar nor Titus afflicted them so much as the emperor Adrian.'] Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 443.

(4) Hieron. in Jerem. XXXI. Col. 679. in Zach. XI. Col. 1744. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict. Chron. Alex. p. 596.

(5) Euseb et. Hieron. Chron. Ann. 137.

(6) Euseb. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Hieron. in Is. VI. Col. 65. Vol 3. Edit. Benedict. Justin. Mart. Apol. Prim. p. 84. Edit. Par. p. 71. Edit. Thirlbii.

emperor Constantine the Great. The name of Jerusalem had grown into such disuse, and was so little remembered or known, especially among the Heathens, that when (7) one of the martyrs of Palestine, who suffered in the persecution under Maximin, was examined of what country he was, and answered of Jerusalem, neither the governor of the province, nor any of his assistants could comprehend what city it was or where situated. But in Constantine's time it began to resume its ancient name; and this emperor inlarged and beautified it with so many stately edifices and churches, that (8) Eusebius said more like a courtier than a bishop, that this perhaps was the new Jerusalem, which was foretold by the prophets. The Jews, who hated and abhorred the Christian religion as much or more than the heathen, (9) assembled again, as we learn from St. Chrysostom, to recover their city, and to rebuild their temple; but the emperor with his soldiers repressed their vain attempt; and having caused their ears to be cut off, and their bodies to be marked for rebels, he dispersed them over all the provinces of his empire, as so many fugitives and slaves.

The laws of Constantine, and of his son and successor Constantius, were likewise in other respects very severe against the Jews: but Julian, called the Apostate, the nephew of Constantine, and successor of Constantius, was more favorably inclined towards them; not that he really liked the Jews, but disliked the Christians, and out of prejudice and hatred to the Christian religion resolved to re establish the Jewish worship and ceremonies. Our Saviour had said that *Jerusalem should be troden down of the Gentiles*; and he would defeat the prophecy, and restore the Jews. For this purpose he (1) wrote

(7) Euseb. de Mart. Palæst. Cap. 11.

(8) ταχα πω ταυτην ησαν την δια προφητικων θεσπισματων κεκηρυγμενην και νεαν Ιερουσαλημ. atque hæc forsitan fuerit recens illa ac nova Hierusalem, prophetarum vaticiniis prædicata. ['Perhaps this is the new Jerusalem foretold by the prophets.'] Euseb. de Vit. Const. Lib. 3. Cap. 33.

(9) Chrysostom. Orat. V. advers. Jud. Sect. 11. p. 645. Orat. VI. Sect. 2. p. 651. Vol. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(1) Juliani Epist. 25. Ιουδαιων τω κοινω. [*To the community of the Jews.*] p. 396. Edit. Spanhemii.

kindly to the whole body or community of the Jews, expressing his concern for their former ill treatment and assuring them of his protection from future oppression; and concluding with a promise, that (2) if he was successful in the Persian war, he would rebuild the holy city Jerusalem, restore them to their habitations, live with them there, and join with them in worshipping the great God of the universe. His zeal even exceeded his promise; for before he set out from Antioch on his Persian expedition, he proposed to begin with (3) rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem, with the greatest magnificence. He assigned immense sums for the building. He gave it in charge to Alypius of Antioch, who had formerly been lieutenant in Britain, to superintend and hasten the work. Alypius set about it vigorously. The governor of the province assisted him in it. But horrible balls of fire bursting forth near the foundations, with frequent assaults, rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen, who were burnt several times: and in this

(2) —ἵνα καγω τον των Περσων πολεμον διορθωσαμενος, την εκ πολλων ετων επιθυμουμενην παρ' ὑμιν ιδειν οικουμενην πολιν ἁγιαν Ιερουσαλημ, εμοις κοπατοις ανοικοδομησας οικησω, και εν αυτῃ δοξαν δωσω μεθ' ὑμων τω κρειττονι.—quo et ipse Persico bello ex animi sententia gesto, sanctam urbem Hierusalem, quam multos jam annos habitatam videre desideratis, meis laboribus refectam incolam, et una vobiscum in ea optimo Deo gratias agam. ['In order that when I shall have finished the Persian war, having rebuilt the holy city Jerusalem, which for so many years you have earnestly desired to see inhabited again, I may dwell in it, and give glory there together with you to the great God.'] Ibid. p. 398.

(3) Ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina obsidente Vespasiano posteaque Tito ægrè est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum. ['He thought of rebuilding at a vast expence, the once magnificent temple of Jerusalem, which with difficulty was destroyed, after many ruinous battles, in a siege under Vespasian, and afterwards under Titus. He gave the charge of preparing for, and hastening on this work, to Alypius of Antioch, who formerly had been lieutenant in Britain. When Alypius, assisted by the governor of the province, was vigorously engaged in this business, horrible balls of fire bursting out from near the foundation with frequent attacks rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen, who were burnt several times. In this manner the element of fire obstinately opposing them, the undertaking was laid aside.'] Amm. Marcell. Lib. 23. Cap. 1. p. 350. Edit. Valesii. 1681.

manner the fiery element obstinately repelling them, the enterprise was laid aside. What a signal providence was it, that this no more than the former attempts should succeed and prosper; and that rather than the prophecies should be defeated, a prodigy was wrought even by the testimony of a faithful heathen historian? The interposition certainly was as providential, as the attempt was impious: and the account here given is nothing more than what Julian himself and his own historian have testified. There are indeed many witnesses to the truth of the fact, whom an (4) able critic hath well drawn together, and ranged in this order. "Ammianus "Marcellinus an Heathen, Zemuch David a Jew, who "confesseth that Julian was *divinitus impeditus*, hin- "dered by God in this attempt: Nazianzen and Chry- "sostom among the Greeks, St. Ambrose and Ruffinus "among the Latins, who florished at the very time "when this was done: Theodoret and Sozomen ortho- "dox. historians, Philostorgius an Arian, Socrates a fa- "vorer of the Novatians, who writ the story within the "space of fifty years after the thing was done, and whilst "the eye-witnesses of the fact were yet surviving." But the public hath lately been obliged with the best and fullest account of this whole transaction in Dr. Warburton's Julian, where the evidence for the miracle is set in the strongest light, and all objections are clearly refuted, to the triumph of faith and the confusion of infidelity.

Julian was the last of the Heathen emperors. His successor Jovian made it the business of his short reign, to undo, as much as was possible, all that Julian had done: and the succeeding emperors were generally for repressing Judaism, in the same proportion as they were zealous for promoting Christianity. Adrian's edict was (5) revived, which prohibited all Jews from entering into Jerusalem, or coming near the city; and guards were posted to enforce the execution of it. This was a

(4) Whitby's general Preface. p. xxviii.
(5) Augustini Serm. 4. Sect. 5. Tom. 5. p. 23. Edit. Benedict. Antwerp. Sulpicii Severi Hist. Lib. 2. p. 99. Edit. Elzevir. 1636.

very lucrative station to the soldiers; for the Jews (6) used to give money for permission to come and see the ruins of their city and temple, and to weep over them, especially on the day whereon Jerusalem had been taken and destroyed by the Romans. It doth not appear that the Jews had ever the liberty of approaching the city, unless by stealth or by purchase, as long as it continued in subjection to the Greek emperors. It continued in subjection to the Greek emperors, till this, as well as the neighbouring cities and countries, fell under the dominion of the Saracens. Only in the former part of the seventh century after Christ, and in the beginning of the reign of the emperor Heraclius, it was (7) taken and plundered by Chosroes king of Persia, and the greatest cruelties were exercised on the inhabitants. Ninety thousand Christians are said to have been sold and sacrificed to the malice and revenge of the Jews. But Heraclius soon repelled and routed the Persians, rescued Jerusalem out of their hands, and banished all Jews, forbidding them, under the severest penalties, to come within three miles of the city.

Jerusalem was hardly recovered from the depredations of the Persians, before it was exposed to a worse evil by the conquering arms of the Saracens. It was in the beginning of the same seventh century, that Mohammed began to preach and propagate his new religion: and this *little cloud,* which was at first no bigger than *a man's hand,* soon overspread and darkened the whole hemisphere. Mohammed himself conquered some parts of Arabia. His successor Abubeker broke into Palestine and Syria. Omar the next caliph was one of the most rapid conquerors, who ever spread desolation upon the face of the earth. His reign was of no longer duration than ten years and a half; and in that time he subdued all Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt. His (8) army invested Jerusalem. He came thither in

(6) Hieron. in Sophon. i. Col. 1655. Vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

(7) Theoph. ad Heracl. p. 252, &c. Edit. Paris. p. 200, &c. Edit. Venet. Cedren. ad Heracl. p. 408. Edit. Paris. p. 322, &c. Edit. Venet. Basnage's Hist. of the Jews. Book 6. Chap. 18. Sect. 7.

(8) Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 1. p. 22, et 28. Edit. Erpenii. Herbelot.

person; and the Christians after a long siege being reduced to the greatest extremities, in the year of Christ 637, surrendered the city upon capitulation. He granted them honorable conditions; he would not allow any of their churches to be taken from them; but only demanded of the Patriarch, with great modesty, a place where he might build a mosque. The Patriarch showed him Jacob's stone, and the place where the temple of Solomon had been built, which the Christians had filled with ordure in hatred to the Jews. Omar began himself to cleanse the place, and he was followed in this act of piety by the principal officers of his army; and it was in this place that the first mosque was erected at Jerusalem. Sophronius the patriarch (9) said upon Omar's taking possession of the city, 'This is of a truth the 'abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the 'prophet standing in the holy place.' Omar the conqueror of Jerusalem is by some authors said also to have died there, being stabbed by a slave at morning prayers in the mosque which he had erected. Abdolmelik the son of Merwan, the twelfth caliph, (1) inlarged the mosque at Jerusalem, and ordered the people to go thither on pilgrimage, instead of Mecca, which was then in the hands of the rebel Abdollah: and afterwards (2) when the pilgrimage to Mecca was by any accident interrupted, the Mussulmen used to repair to Jerusalem for the same purposes of devotion.

In this manner the holy city was transferred from the possession of the Greek Christians into the dominion of the Arabian Mussulmen, and continued in subjection to the caliphs till the latter part of the eleventh century, that is above 400 years. At that time (3) the Turks

Biblioth. Orientale. p. 687. Basnage's Hist. of the Jews. B. 6. Chap. 19. Sect. 2. Ockley's Hist of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 243, &c.

(9) Theophanes, p. 281. Edit. Paris. p. 244. Edit. Venet. Basnage, ibid. Ockley, p. 249.

(1) Elmacin. Hist. Sar. Lib. 1. p. 58. Ockley, vol. 2. p. 299.

(2) Herbelot. Bib. Orient. p. 270.

(3) Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 3. p. 267—287. Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 243. Vers. Pocockii. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. p. 269.

of the Selzuccian race had made themselves masters of Persia, had usurped the government, but submitted to the religion of the country; and being firmly seated there, they extended their conquests as far as Jerusalem and farther. They drove out the Arabians, and also despoiled the caliphs of their power over it; and they kept possession of it, till being weakened by divisions among themselves, they were ejected by the caliph of Egypt. The caliph of Egypt, perceiving the divisions and weakness of the Turks, advanced to Jerusalem with a great army; and the Turks expecting no succour, presently surrendered it to him. But though it thus changed masters, and passed from the Arabians to the Turks, and from the Turks to the Egyptians, yet the religion professed there was still the same, the Mohammedan being authorized and established, and the Christian only tolerated upon payment of tribute.

The Egyptians enjoyed their conquests but a little while; for in (4) the same year that they took possession of it, they were dispossessed again by the Franks as they are generally denominated, or the Latin Christians. Peter the hermit of Amiens in France went on a pilgrimage to Palestine, and there having seen and shared in the distresses and miseries of the Christians, he represented them at his return in such pathetic terms, that by his preaching and instigation, and by the authority of pope Urban II. and the Council of Clermont, the west was stirred up against the east, Europe against Asia, the Christians against the Mussulmen, for the retaking of Jerusalem, and for the recovery of the holy land out of the hands of the infidels. It was the epidemic madness of the time; and old and young, men and women, priests and soldiers, monks and merchants, peasants and mechanics, all were eager to assume the cross, and to set out for what they thought the holy wars. Some assert that the number of those who went out on this expedi-

(4) Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 243. Vers. Pocockii Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 3. p. 293. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. p. 269. Savage's Abridg. of Knolles and Ricaut. Vol. 1. p. 12, &c. Voltaire's Hist. of Europe, of the Crusades. Blair's Chronol. Tables.

tion amounted to above a million. They who make the lowest computation affirm, that there were at least three hundred thousand fighting men. After some losses and some victories the army sat down before Jerusalem, and after a siege of five weeks took it by storm, on the fifteenth of July in the year of Christ 1099; and all, who were not Christians, they put to the sword. They massacred above seventy thousand Mussulmen; and all the Jews in the place they gathered and burnt together; and the spoil that they found in the mosques was of inestimable value. Godfrey of Boulogne, the general, was chosen king: and there reigned nine kings in succession; and the kingdom subsisted eighty-eight years, till the year of Christ 1187, when the Mussulmen regained their former dominion, and with scarce any interruption have retained it ever since.

At that time the famous Saladin, having subverted the government of the caliphs, had caused himself to be proclaimed sultan of Egypt. Having also subdued Syria and Arabia, he formed the (5) design of besieging Jerusalem, and of putting an end to that kingdom. He marched against it with a powerful and victorious army, and took it by capitulation on Friday the 2d of October, after a siege of fourteen days. He compelled the Christians to redeem their lives at the price of ten pieces of gold for a man, five for a woman, and two for a boy or girl. He restored to the oriental Christians the church of the holy sepulchre; but forced the Franks or western Christians to depart to Tyre or other places, which were in the possession of their countrymen. But though the city was in the hands of the Mussulmen, yet the Christians had still their nominal king of Jerusalem; and for some time Richard I. of England, who was one of the most renowned crusaders, and had eminently distinguished himself in the holy wars, gloried in the empty title. The city however (6) did not remain so assured to the

(5) Elmacin. ibid. p. 293. Abul-Pharaj. ibid. p. 273, 274. Herbelot ibid. p. 269 et 743. Knolles and Savage, p. 54. Voltaire ibid. Blair's Chronol. Tables.

(6) Herbelot ibid. p. 269. Knolles and Savage, p. 74. Voltaire ibid.

family of Saladin, but thirty years after his nephew Al Moadham, sultan of Damascus, was obliged to demolish the walls, not being able to keep it himself, and fearing lest the Franks, who were then again become formidable in those parts, should establish themselves again in a place of such strength. Afterwards in the year 1228, (7) another of Saladin's family, Al Kamel, the sultan of Egypt, who after the death of his kinsman Al Moadham enjoyed part of his estates, to secure his own kingdom, made a treaty with the Franks, and yielded up Jerusalem to the emperor Frederic II. upon condition that he should not rebuild the walls, and that the mosques should be reserved for the devotions of the Mussulmen. Frederic was accordingly crowned king there, but soon returned into Europe. Not many years intervened before (8) the Christians broke the truce; and Melecsalah, sultan of Egypt, being greatly offended, marched directly towards Jerusalem, put all the Franks therein to the sword, demolished the castle which they had built, sacked and rased the city, not even sparing the sepulchre of our Saviour, which till that time had never been violated or defiled; and (9) before the end of the same century, the crusaders or European Christians were totally extirpated out of the holy land, having lost in their eastern expeditions, according to some accounts, above two millions of persons.

Before this time the Mamalucs or the foreign slaves to the Egyptian sultans had usurped the government from their masters: and soon after this (1) Kazan the chan of the Mogul-Tartars made an irruption into Syria, routed Al Naser the Sultan of Egypt, had Damascus surrendered to him, and ordered Jerusalem to be repaired and fortified. But being recalled by great troubles in Persia, he was obliged to quit his new conquests, and the Mamaluc sultan of Egypt soon took

(7) Abul-Pharajii ibid. p. 305. Herbelot ibid. p. 169 et 745. Knolles and Savage, p. 81. Voltaire ibid. and Annals of the Empire. Ann. 1229.
(8) Herbelot ibid. p. 269. Knolles and Savage, p. 83.
(9) Knolles and Savage, p. 95. Voltaire, ibid.
(1) Pocockii Supplem. ab Abul-Pharaj. p. 2. Knolles and Savage, p. 96.

possession of them again. In like manner (2) when the great Timur or Tamerlane, like a mighty torrent, overwhelmed Asia, and vanquished both the Turkish and Egyptian sultans, he went twice in passing and repassing to visit the holy city, gave many presents to the religious persons, and freed the inhabitants from subsidies and garrisons. But the ebb was almost as sudden as the flood. He died within a few years, and his sons and grandsons quarreling about the succession, his vast empire in a little time mouldered away; and Jerusalem with the neighbouring countries reverted to the obedience of the Mamalucs again. It was indeed in a ruined and desolate state, as Chalcocondylas, (3) describes it, and the Christians paid large tribute to the sultans of Egypt for access to the sepulchre of Jesus. And in the same state it continued, with little variation, under the dominion of the Mamalucs, for the space of above 260 years, till at length this with the other territories of the Mamalucs fell a prey to the arms of the Turks of the Othman race.

It was about the year 1516 that (4) Selim the ninth emperor of the Turks turned his arms against Egypt; and having conquered one sultan, and hanged another, he annexed Syria, Egypt, and all the dominions of the Mamulucs to the Othman empire. In his way to Egypt, he did as Kazan and Tamerlane had done before him; he (5) went to visit the holy city, the seat of so many prophets, and the scene of so many miracles. It lay at that time miserably deformed and ruined, ac-

(2) Chalcocondylas de rebus Turc. Lib. 3. Herbelot, p. 877, &c. Knolles and Savage, p. 138. &c.

(3) Τον δε ταφον Ιησυ κ. τ. λ. Sepulchrum Jesu sub potestate istius regis in Palæstina situm est, unde plurimum lucri ei accidit.—Situm in urbe Hierusalem quæ devastata est cum maritimis regionibus. ['The sepulchre of Jesus was situated in Palestine, which was under the dominion of that king, from whence he derived much gain.—It was situated in the city of Jerusalem, which with the country on the sea-coast, was in a state of desolation.'] Chalcocond. ibid. p. 75. Edit. Paris. p. 59. Edit. Venet.

(4) Pocockii Supplem. ad Abul-Pharaj. p. 29, 30, 49. Herbelot Bib. Orient. p. 802. Knolles and Savage, p. 240, &c. Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman empire, in Selim I.

(5) Pauli Jovii Hist. Lib. 17. Herbelot ibid. Knolles and Savage, p. 243. Prince Cantemir ibid. Sect. 21. p. 163.

cording to the (6) account of a contemporary historian, not inhabited by the Jews who were banished into all the world, but by a few Christians who paid large tribute to the Egyptian sultans for the possession of the holy sepulchre. Selim offered up his devotions at the monuments of the old prophets, and presented the Christian priests with as much money as was sufficient to buy them provisions for six months; and having stayed there one night, he went to join his army at Gaza. From that time to this the Othman emperors have (7) possessed it under the title of Hami, that is of protectors, and not of masters; though they are more properly tyrants and oppressors. Turks, Arabians, and Christians of various sects and nations dwell there out of reverence to the place; but very few Jews; and of those the greatest part, as (3) Basnage says, are beggars and live upon alms. The Jews say, that when the Messiah shall come, the city will undergo a conflagration and inundation in order to be purified from the defilements, which the Christian and Mohammedan have committed in it; and therefore they chose not to settle there. But the writer just mentioned assigns two more probable and natural reasons. "One is, that the Mohammedans look upon "Jerusalem as a holy place; and therefore there are "a great many *Santons* and devout Musselmen, who "have taken up their abode there, who are persecutors "of the Jews as well as of the Christians, so that they

(6) Paulus Jovius ibid. Ea tunc miserabili sacrarum ruinarum deformitate inculta atque deserta, non a Judæis veteribus incolis, qui tunc toto orbe extorres in admissi sceleris pœnam, nec sedem nec patriam habent, sed a paucis Christianis incolebatur. Ii cum ignominia et gravi admodum contumelia Christiani nominis, ob concessam venerandi sepulchri possessionem, grave tributum Ægyptiis regibus persolvunt, &c. ['Then its sacred ruins were in a state of miserable deformity, neglected and forsaken. It was inhabited not by the Jews, its former occupiers, who, banished and scattered over the whole face of the earth, as a punishment of their crime, have no fixed place of abode, but by a few Christians. These, loaded with all the ignominy and reproach attached to the Christian name in those parts, pay a heavy tribute to the Egyptian Sultan, for the possession granted to them of the holy sepulchre.']

(7) —et ses successeurs l'ont possedée jusqu'a present sous le titre de Hami, c'est a-dire, de protecteurs, et non pas de maitres. ['And his successors have possessed it to the present time, under the title of Hami, that is of protectors, not of masters.'] Herbelot, p. 270.

(8) Basnage Hist. of the Jews, B. 7. Chap. 24. Sect. 10.

" have less tranquillity and liberty in Jerusalem than in " other places: and as there is very little trade, there is " not much to be got, and this want of gain drives them " away."

By thus tracing the history of Jerusalem from the destruction by Titus to the present time, it appears evidently, that as the Jews have been *led away captive into all nations*, so Jerusalem hath been *troden down of the Gentiles*. There are now almost 1700 years, in which the Jewish nation have been a standing monument of the truth of Christ's predictions, themselves dispersed over the face of the whole earth, and their land groaning under the yoke of foreign lords and conquerors: And at this day there is no reason to doubt but they will continue in the same state, nor ever recover their native country, *until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*. Our Saviour's words are very memorable, *Jerusalem shall be troden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*. It is still troden down by the Gentiles, and consequently the times of the Gentiles are not yet fulfilled. When *the times of the Gentiles* shall be *fulfilled*, then the expression implies that the Jews shall be restored: And for what reason, can we believe, that though they are dispersed among all nations, yet by a constant miracle they are kept distinct from all but for the farther manifestation of God's purposes towards them? The prophecies have been accomplished to the greatest exactness in the destruction of their city, and its continuing still subject to strangers, in the dispersion of their people, and their living still separate from all people; and why should not the remaining parts of the same prophecies be as fully accomplished too in their restoration, at the proper season, when *the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled?* The times of the Gentiles will be fulfilled, when the times of *the four great kingdoms* of the Gentiles according to Daniel's prophecies shall be expired, and *the fifth kingdom* or the kingdom of Christ shall be set up in their place, and *the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever*. Jerusalem, as it has hitherto remained, so pro-

bably will remain in subjection to the Gentiles, *until* these *times of the Gentiles be fulfilled;* or as St. Paul expresseth it, (Rom. xi. 25, 26.) *until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved,* and become again the people of God. *The fulness of the Jews* will come in as well as *the fulness of the Gentiles.* For (ver. 12, &c.) *if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles; how much more their fulness? For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in: And so all Israel shall be saved.*

XXI.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART IV.

WHEN we first entered on an explanation of our Saviour's prophecies relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, comprised chiefly in this 24th chapter of St. Matthew, it was observed that the disciples in their question propose two things to our Saviour, first when should be the *time* of his coming or the destruction of Jerusalem, and secondly what should be the *signs* of it, (ver. 3.) *Tell us when shall these things be, and what shall be the signs of thy coming, and of the conclusion of the age.* The latter part of the question our Saviour answereth first, and treateth at large of the *signs* of the destruction of Jerusalem from the 4th verse of the chapter to the 31st inclusive. He toucheth upon the most material passages and incidents, not only of those which were to forerun this great event, but likewise of those which

were to attend, and immediately to follow upon it: and having thus answered the latter part of the question, he proceeds now in verse 32d to answer the former part of the question, as to the *time* of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem.

He begins with observing that the signs which he had given would be as certain an indication of the time of his coming, as the fig-tree's putting forth its leaves is of the approach of summer; (ver. 32, 33.) *Now learn a parable of the fig-tree: when his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh: So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near,* or he is near, *even at the doors.* He proceeds to declare that the time of his coming was at no very great distance; and to show that he hath been speaking all this while of the destruction of Jerusalem, he affirms with his usual affirmation, (ver. 34.) *Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled.* It is to me a wonder how any man can refer part of the foregoing discourse to the destruction of Jerusalem, and part to the end of the world, or any other distant event, when it is said so positively here in the conclusion, *All these things shall be fulfilled in this generation.* It seemeth as if our Saviour had been aware of some such misapplication of his words, by adding yet greater force and emphasis to his affirmation, (ver. 35.) *Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.* It is a common figure of speech in the oriental languages, to say of two things that the one shall be and the other shall not be, when the meaning is only that the one shall happen sooner or more easily than the other. As in this instance of our Saviour, *Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away,* the meaning is, Heaven and earth shall sooner or more easily pass away than my words shall pass away; the frame of the universe shall sooner or more easily be dissolved than my words shall not be fulfilled: And thus it is expressed by St. Luke upon a like occasion, (xvi. 17.) *It is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the law to fail.*

In another place he says (Mat. xvi. 23.) *There are some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom:* intimating that it would not succeed immediately, and yet not at such a distance of time, but that some then living should be spectators of the calamities coming upon the nation. In like manner he says to the women, who bewailed and lamented him as he was going to be crucified, (Luke xxiii. 28.) *Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children:* which sufficiently implied, that the days of distress and misery were coming, and would fall on them and their children. But at that time there was not any appearance of such immediate ruin. The wisest politician could not have inferred it from the then present state of affairs. Nothing less than divine prescience could have certainly foreseen and foretold it.

But still the exact time of this judgment was unknown to all creatures, (ver. 36.) *But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels in heaven, but my Father only.* The word ὥρα (1) is of larger signification than *hour;* and besides it seemeth somewhat improper to say *Of that day and hour knoweth no man;* for if the *day* was not known, certainly the *hour* was not, and it was superfluous to make such an addition. I conceive therefore that the passage should be rendered, not *Of that day and* hour *knoweth no man,* but *Of that day and* season *knoweth no man,* as the word is frequently used in the best authors both sacred and profane. It is true our Saviour declares, *All these things shall be fulfilled in this generation;* it is true the prophet Daniel hath given some intimation of the time in his famous prophecy of the seventy weeks: but though this great revolution was to happen in that generation; though it was to happen towards the conclusion of seventy weeks or 490 years to be computed from a certain date that is not easy to be fixed; yet the

(1) Ὡραν hic non diei particulam sed latius sumti temporis ambitum intelligo, &c. ['I consider ὥραν here as denoting, not a part of a day, but a portion of time, taken in a larger sense.'] Grot. in locum.

particular *day*, the *particular* season in which it was to happen, might still remain a secret to men and angels; and our Saviour had before (ver. 20.) advised his disciples to pray, that their *flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day*; the *day* not being known, they might pray that their flight be not on the *sabbath-day*; the *season* not being known, they might pray that their flight be not in the *winter*. As it was in the days of Noah, saith our Saviour, (ver. 37, 38, 39.) so shall it be now. As then, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, till they were surprised by the flood, notwithstanding the frequent warnings and admonitions of that preacher of righteousness: so now they shall be engaged in the business and pleasures of the world little expecting, little thinking of this universal ruin, till it come upon them, notwithstanding the express predictions and declarations of Christ and his apostles. *Then shall two be in the field, the one shall be taken and the other left: Two women shall be grinding at the mill.* Dr. Shaw in his travels, making some observations upon the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, says in p. 297. that "women alone are employed to grind their corn, and that "when the uppermost millstone is large, or expedition "is required, then only a second woman is called in to "assist." This observation I owe to Bishop Pearce.—*Two women shall be grinding at the mill, the one shall be taken, and the other left* (ver. 40, 41.) That is, Providence will then make a distinction between such, as are not at all distinguished now. Some shall be rescued from the destruction of Jerusalem, like Lot out of the burning of Sodom; while others, no ways perhaps different in outward circumstances, shall be left to perish in it.

The matter is carried somewhat farther in the parallel place of St. Mark; and it is said not only that the angels were excluded from the knowledge of the partitular time, but that the Son himself was also ignorant of it. The 13th chapter of that evangelist answers to the 24th of St. Matthew. Our Saviour treateth there of the signs and circumstances of his coming and the destruc-

tion of Jerusalem, from the 5th to the 27th verse inclusive; and then at verse the 28th he proceeds to treat of the time of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem. The text in St. Matthew is, *Of that day and season knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.* The text in St. Mark is, *Of that day and season knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son but the Father,* It is true the words οὐδὲ ὁ υἱος, *neither the Son,* were omitted in some copies of St. Mark, as they are inserted in some copies of St. Matthew: but there is no sufficient authority for the omission in St. Mark, any more than for the insertion in St. Matthew. Erasmus and some of the moderns (2) are of opinion, that the words were omitted in the text of St. Matthew, lest they should afford a handle to the Arians for proving the Son to be inferior to the Father: but it was to little purpose to erase them out of St. Matthew, and to leave them standing in St. Mark. On the contrary St. Ambrose and some of the ancients (3) assert, that they were inserted in the text of St. Mark by the Arians: but there is as little foundation or pretence for this assertion, as there is for the other. It is much more probable that they were omitted in some copies of St Mark by some indiscreet orthodox, who thought them to bear too hard upon our Saviour's dignity. For all the most ancient copies and translations extant retain them; the most ancient fathers quote them, and comment upon them; and certainly it is easier for words to be omitted in a copy so as that the omission should not generally prevail afterwards, than it is for words to be inserted in a copy so as that the insertion should generally prevail afterwards. Admit the words therefore as the

(2) Proinde suspicor hoc a nonnullis subtractum, ne Arianis esset ansa confirmandi Filium esse Patre minorem, &c. Erasm. in loc. ['Wherefore I suspect that these words have been withdrawn by some, lest they should give the Arians a handle for proving their doctrine, that the Son is inferior to the Father, &c.']

(3) Ambros. de Fide. Lib. 5. Cap. 8. Veteres Græci codices non habent, *Quod nec filius scit;* sed non mirum est, si et hoc salsârunt, qui scripturas interpolavêre divinas. ['The ancient Greek copies have not these words, *knoweth, neither the Son,* but it is not to be wondered at, that men who have interpolated the holy scriptures, should have falsified them here.']

genuin words of St. Mark we must, and we may without any prejudice to our Saviour's divinity. For Christ may be considered in two respects, in his human and his divine nature; and what is said with regard only to the former, doth not at all affect the latter. As he was the great teacher and revealer of his Father's will, he might know more than the angels, and yet he might not know all things. It is said in St. Luke (ii. 52.) that *Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man.* He *increased in wisdom,* and consequently in his human nature he was not omniscient. In his human nature he was the *son* of David; in his divine nature he was the *Lord* of David. In his human nature he was upon earth; in his divine nature he was *in heaven* (John iii. 13.) even while upon earth. In like manner it may be said, that though as God he might know all things, yet he might be ignorant of some things as man. And of this particular the Messiah might be ignorant, because it was no part of his office or commission to reveal it. *It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power,* as our Saviour said (Acts i. 7.) when a like question was proposed to him. It might be proper for the disciples, and for the Jews too by their means, to know the signs and circumstances of our Saviour's coming and the destruction of Jerusalem; but upon many accounts it might be unfit for them both, to know the precise time.

Hitherto we have explained this 24th chapter of St. Matthew as relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, and without doubt as relating to the destruction of Jerusalem it is primarily to be understood. But though it is to be understood of this primarily, yet it is not to be understood of this only: for there is no question that our Saviour had a further view and meaning in it. It is usual with the prophets to frame and express their prophecies so, as that they shall comprehend more than one event, and have their several periods of completion. This every one must have observed, who hath been ever so little conversant in the writings of the ancient prophets: and this I conceive to be the case here, and the

destruction of Jerusalem, to be typical of the end of the world. The destruction of a great city is a lively type and image of the end of the world; and we may observe that our Saviour no sooner begins to speak of the destruction of Jerusalem, than his figures are raised, his language is swelled, and he expresseth himself in such terms, as in a lower sense indeed are applicable to the destruction of Jerusalem, but describe something higher in their proper and genuin signification. *The sun shall be darkened, the moon shall not give her light, the stars shall fall from heaven, the powers of the heavens shall be shaken, the Son of man shall come in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory, and he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other:* These passages in a figurative sense as we have seen may be understood of the destruction of Jerusalem, but in their litteral sense can be meant only of the end of the world. In like manner that text, *Of that day and season knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only;* the consistence and connection of the discourse oblige us to understand it as spoken of the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, but in a higher sense it may be true also of the time of the end of the world and the general judgment. All the subsequent discourse too, we may observe, doth not relate so properly to the destruction of Jerusalem, as to the end of the world and the general judgment. Our Saviour loseth sight as it were of his former subject, and adapts his discourse more to the latter. And the end of the Jewish state was in a manner the end of the world to many of the Jews.

The remaining part of the chapter is so clear and easy as to need no comment or explanation. It will be more proper to conclude with some useful reflections upon the whole.

It appears next to impossible, that any man should duly consider these prophecies, and the exact completion of them; and if he is a believer, not be confirmed in the faith; or if he is an infidel, not be converted. Can

any stronger proof be given of a divine revelation than the spirit of prophecy; and can any stronger proof be given of the spirit of prophecy, than the examples now before us, in which so many contingencies, and I might say improbabilities, which human wisdom or prudence could never foresee, are so particularly foretold, and so punctually accomplished! At the time when Christ pronounced these prophecies, the Roman governor resided at Jerusalem, and had a force sufficient to keep the people in obedience: and could human prudence foresee that the city as well as the country would revolt and rebel against the Romans? Could human prudence foresee *famins*, and *pestilences*, and *earthquakes* in divers places? Could human prudence foresee the speedy propagation of the gospel so contrary to all human probability? Could human prudence foresee such an utter destruction of Jerusalem with all the circumstances preceding and following it? It was never the custom of the Romans absolutely to ruin any of their provinces. It was improbable therefore that such a thing should happen at all, and still more improbable that it should happen under the humane and generous Titus, who was indeed, as he was (4) called, *the love and delight of mankind.*

What is usually objected to the other predictions of holy writ, cannot with any pretence be objected to these prophecies of our Saviour, that they are figurative and obscure; for nothing can be conveyed in plainer simpler terms, except where he affected some obscurity, as it hath been shown, for particular reasons. It is allowed indeed that some of these prophecies are taken from Moses and Daniel. Our Saviour prophesying of the same events hath borrowed and applied some of the same images and expressions. But this is a commendation rather than any discredit to his predictions. He hath built upon the foundations of the inspired writers before him; but what a superstructure hath he raised? He hath acted in this case as in every other, like one who came

(4) Amor ac deliciæ humani generis. [Translated in the text.] Suet. in Tito. Sect. 2.

not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them. He hath manifested himself to be a true prophet, by his exact interpretation and application of other prophets. He is also much more particular and circumstantial than either Moses or Daniel. In several instances his prophecies are entirely new, and properly his own: and besides he uses greater precision in fixing and confining the time to that very generation.

For the completion of these prophecies the persons seem to have been wonderfully raised up and preserved by divine providence. Vespasian was promoted from obscurity; and though feared and hated by Nero, yet was preferred by him, and singled out as the only general among the Romans who was equal to such a war; God perhaps, as (5) Josephus intimates, so disposing and ordering affairs. He had subdued the greatest part of Judea, when he was advanced to the empire; and he was happy in putting an end to the civil wars, and to the other troubles and calamities of the state, or otherwise he would hardly have been at leisure to prosecute the war with the Jews. Titus was wonderfully preserved in the most critical articles of danger. While he was taking a view of the city, he was surrounded by the enemy, and nothing less was expected than that he should be slain, or made prisoner: but he resolutely broke thro' the midst of them, and though unarmed yet arrived unhurt at his own camp: upon which (6) Josephus maketh this reflection, that from hence it is obvious to understand, that the turns of war and the dangers of princes are under the peculiar care of God. Josephus himself was also no less wonderfully preserved than Titus, the one to destroy the city, and the other to record its destruction. He marvelously escaped from the snares

(5) ταχα τι και περι των ὁλων ηδη τω Θεω προοικονομεμενω. forsan et Deo aliquid de universis præordinante. ['God, perhaps, in his decrees concerning the world, having so ordained.'] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. Sect. 3. p. 1118. Edit. Hudson.

(6) ενθα δη μαλιστα παρεστι νοειν, ὁτι και πολεμων ῥοπαι και βασιλεων κινδυνοι μελονται τω Θεω. hinc sane maxime licet intelligere, Deo curæ esse et belli momenta et regum pericula. [Translated in the text.] Ib. Lib. 5. Cap. 2. Sect. 2. p. 1216.

which were laid for him (7) by John of Gischala, and (8) by Jesus the chief of the robbers: and when (9) his companions were determined to kill him and themselves rather than surrender to the Romans, he prevailed with them to draw lots who should be killed, the one after the other; and at last he was left with only one other, whom he persuaded to submit with him to the Romans. Thus was he saved from the most imminent destruction; and he himself esteemed it as it certainly was, a singular instance of divine providence.

As Vespasian and Titus seem to have been raised up and preserved for the completion of these prophecies so might Josephus for the illustration of their completion. For the particular passages and transactions, by which we prove the completion of these prophecies, we derive not so much from Christian writers, who might be suspected of a design to parallel the events with the predictions, as from Heathen authors, and chiefly from Josephus the Jewish historian, who tho' very exact and minute in other relations, yet avoids as much as ever he can the mention of Christ and the Christian religion. He doth not so much as once mention the name of *false Christs,* though he hath frequent occasion to speak largely of *false prophets;* so cautious was he of touching upon any thing, that might lead him to the acknowledgment of the true Christ. His silence here is as remarkable, as his copiousness upon other subjects. It is indeed very providential, that a more particular detail, a more exact history is preserved of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of all the circumstancss relating to it, than of any other matter whatsoever transacted so long ago: and it is an additional advantage to our cause, that these accounts are transmitted to us by a Jew, and by a Jew who was himself an eye-witness to most of the things which he relates. As a general in the wars he must have had an exact knowlege of all transactions, and as a Jewish priest he would not relate them with any favor

(7) Josephi Vita, Sect. 17, &c.
(8) Ibid. Sect. 22.
(9) De Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

or partiality to the Christian cause. His history (1) was approved by Vespasian and Titus (who ordered it to be published) and by king Agrippa and many others, both Jews and Romans, who were present in those wars. He had likewise many enemies, who would readily have convicted him of any falsification, if he had been guilty of any. He designed nothing less, and yet as if he had designed nothing more, his history of the Jewish wars may serve as a larger comment on our Saviour's prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem. If any one would compare our Saviour's words with that writer's history of the whole war, as (2) Eusebius very well observes, he could not but admire and acknowlege our Saviour's prescience and prediction to be wonderful above nature, and truly divine.

The predictions are the clearest, as the calamities were the greatest which the world ever saw: and what hainous sin was it, that could bring down such heavy judgments on the Jewish church and nation? Can any other with half so much probability be assigned, as what the scripture assigns, their crucifying the Lord of glory? As St. Paul expresseth it, (1 Thess. ii. 15, 16.) *They both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and persecuted the apostles,* and so *filled up their sins, and wrath came upon them to the uttermost.* This is always objected as the most capital sin of the nation: and upon reflection, we shall find really some correspondence between their crime and their punishment. They put Jesus to death when the nation was assembled to celebrate the passover; and when the (3) nation was assembled too to celebrate the passover, Titus shut them up within the

(1) Josephi Vita, Sect. 65. Contra Apion. Lib. 1. Sect. 9.

(2) συγκρινας δε τις τας τϑ σωτηρος ἡμων λεξεις ταις λοιπαις τϑ συγγραφεως ἱστοριαις ταις περι τϑ παντος πολεμϑ, πως ϑκ αν αποθαυμασειεν, ϑειαν ὡς αληθως και ὑπερφυως παραδοξον την προγνωσιν τε και προρρησιν τϑ σωτηρος ἡμων ὁμολογησας. Quod si quis servatoris nostri verba cum iis comparet, quæ ab eodem scriptore de universo bello commemorata sunt, fieri non potest quin admiretur præscientiam ac prædictionem servatoris nostri, eamque verè divinam et supra modum stupendam esse fateatur. [Translated in the text.] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

(3) Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 9. Sect. 3 et 4. Euseb. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 5.

walls of Jerusalem. The rejection of the true Messiah was their crime; and the following of false Messiahs to their destruction was their punishment. They sold and bought Jesus as a slave; and they themselves were afterwards sold and bought as slaves at the lowest prices. They preferred a robber and murderer to Jesus, whom they crucified between two thieves; and they themselves (4) were afterwards infested with bands of thieves and robbers. They put Jesus to death, lest the Romans should come and take away their place and nation; and the Romans did come and take away their place and nation. They crucified Jesus before the walls of Jerusalem; and before the walls of Jerusalem they themselves were crucified in such numbers, that it is (5) said room was wanted for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies. I should think it hardly possible for any man to lay these things together, and not conclude the Jews own imprecation to be remarkably fulfilled upon them, (Mat. xxvii. 25.) *His blood be on us and on our children.*

We Christians cannot indeed be guilty of the very same offence in crucifying the Lord of glory: but it behoves us to consider, whether we may not be guilty in the same kind, and by our sins and iniquities (Hebr. vi. 25.) *crucify the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame;* and therefore whether being like them in their crime, we may not also resemble them in their punishment. They rejected the Messiah, and we indeed have received him: but have our lives been all agreeable to our holy profession, or rather as we have had opportunities of knowing Christ more, have we not obeyed him less than other Christians, and (Hebr. x. 29.) *trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the blood of the covenant wherewith we are sanctified an unholy thing, and done despite unto the spirit of grace?* The flagrant crimes of the Jews, and the principal sources of their

(4) Joseph. ibid. Lib. 2. Cap. 4 et 13. Lib. 3. Cap. 8. Lib. 4. Cap. 3. Lib. 7. Cap. 8, &c.

(5) και δια το πληθος χωρα τε ενελειπετο τοις σταυροις, και σταυροι τοις σωμασιν. et propter multitudinem spatium crucibus deerat, et corporibus cruces. ['And on account of the multitude, space was wanting for crosses, and crosses for bodies.'] Ibid. Lib. 5. Cap. 11. Sect. 1. p. 1247.

calamities, in the opinion of (6) Josephus, were their trampling upon all human laws, deriding divine things, and making a jest of the oracles of the prophets as so many dreams and fables: and how hath the same spirit of licentiousness and infidelity prevailed likewise among us? How have the laws and lawful authority been insulted with equal insolence and impunity? How have the holy scriptures, those treasures of divine wisdom, not only been neglected, but despised, derided, and abused to the worst purposes? How have the principal articles of our faith been denied, the prophecies and miracles of Moses and the prophets, of Christ and his apostles been ridiculed, and impiety and blasphemy not only been whispered in the ear, but proclaimed from the press? How hath all public worship and religion, and the administration of the sacraments been slighted and contemned, and the sabbath profaned by those chiefly who ought to set a better example, to whom much is given, and of whom therefore much will be required? And if for their sins and provocations (Rom. xi. 21, 20.) *God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear.* God bore long with the Jews; and hath he not bore long with us too! But he cut them off, when the measure of their iniquities was full; and let us beware lest our measure be not also well-nigh full, and we be not growing ripe for excision. What was said of the church of Ephesus, is very applicable to us and our own case, (Rev. ii. 5.) *Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.*

(6) κατεπατειτο μεν ων πας αυτοις θεσμος ανθρωπων, εγελατο δε τα θεια, και τας των προφητων θεσμας [Al. χρησμους] ωσπερ αγυρτικας λογοποιιας εχλευαζον. et ab illis quidem omne jus humanum conculcabatur, divina autem quæque deridebantur, et prophetarum oracula ut præstigiatorum commenta subsannabant. ['Every law of man was trampled under foot by them. Things divine were ridiculed, and they made a jest of the laws, (others read, the oracles) of the prophets, as if they had been the devices of jugglers.'] Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 6. Sect. 3. p. 1118. Edit. Hudson.

XXII.

ST. PAUL'S PROPHECY OF THE MAN OF SIN.

AS our blessed Saviour hath cited and appealed to the book of Daniel, so likewise have his apostles drawn from the same fountain. St. Paul's and St. John's predictions are in a manner the copies of Daniel's originals with some improvements and additions. The same times, the same persons, and the same events are described by St. Paul and St. John as well as by Daniel; and it might therefore with reason be expected, that there should be some similitude and resemblance in the principal features and characters.

St. Paul hath left in writing, besides others, two most memorable prophecies, both relating to the same subject, the one concerning *the man of sin,* the other concerning *the apostacy of the latter times,* the former contained in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and the latter in the first Epistle to Timothy. The prophecy concerning *the man of sin,* having been delivered first in time, may fitly be considered first in order: and for the fuller manifestation of the truth and exactness of this prediction, it may be proper 1st, to investigate the genuin sense and meaning of the passage; 2dly, to show how it hath been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators; and 3dly, to vindicate and establish what we conceive to be the only true and legitimate application.

I. In the first place it is proper to investigate the genuin sense and meaning of the passage; for a prophecy must be rightly understood, before it can be rightly applied. The apostle introduces the subject thus, (2 Thess. ii. 1, 2.) *Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, That ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.* The proposition, which

is translated *by*, ought rather to have been translated *concerning*, as it signifies (1) in other places of scripture, and in other authors both Greek and Latin. *Now we beseech you, brethren*, concerning *the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him.* For he doth not beseech them by the coming of Christ, but the coming of Christ is the subject of which he is treating; and it is in relation to this subject, that he desires them not to be disturbed or affrighted, neither by revelation, nor by message, nor by letter, as from him, as if the day of Christ's coming was at hand. The phrases of *the coming of Christ* and *the day of Christ* may be understood, either figuratively of his coming in judgment upon the Jews, or litterally of his coming in glory to judge the world. Sometimes indeed they are used in the former sense, but they are more generally employed in the latter, by the writers of the New Testament: and the latter is the proper signification in this place, as the context will evince beyond contradiction. St. Paul himself had planted the church in Thessalonica; and it consisted principally of converts from among the gentile idolaters, because it is said (1 Thess. i. 9.) that they *turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God.* What occasion was there therefore to admonish them particularly of the destruction of Jerusalem? Or (2) why should they be under such agitations and terrors upon that account? What connection had Macedonia with Judea, or Thessalonica with Jerusalem? What share were the Christian converts to have in the calamities of the rebellious and unbelieving Jews; and why should they not rather have

(1) So it is rendered Rom. ix. 27. Ἡσαΐας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, *Esaias also crieth* concerning *Israel.* See likewise 2 Cor. i. 7. viii. 23, 24, &c. Galen, Lib. 1. ad Glauc. ὑπὲρ πάσων γράψαι δὲν ἐγχωρεῖ, de omnibus scribere non datur. ['*one cannot write* concerning *all things.*'] Virgil *Æn.* I. 750. Multa *super* Priamo rogitans, *super* Hectore multa. ['Asking many things *concerning* Priam, many things *concerning* Hector.']

(2) At quis huic terrori locus, si de Judæorum excidio agebatur? Quid Macedoniæ cum Judæa, Thessal. cum Hieros.? quid commune Christianis cum periculo rebellium Judæorum? &c. ['But what ground was there for this terror, if he was treating concerning the destruction of the Jews? What had Macedonia to do with Judea, or Thessalonica with Jerusalem? Or what danger could Christians be in from the rebellion of the Jews?'] Simplicius in Poli Synops.

been comforted than troubled at the punishment of their inveterate enemies? Besides (3) how could the apostle deny that the destruction of the Jews was at hand, when it was at hand, as he saith himself (1 Thess. ii. 16.) and *the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost?* He knew, and they knew, for our Saviour had declared, that the destruction of Jerusalem would come to pass *in that generation:* and what a ridiculous comfort must it be to tell them, that it would not happen immediately, but would be accomplished within less than twenty years? The phrases therefore of *the coming of Christ* and *the day of Christ* cannot in this place relate to the destruction of Jerusalem, but must necessarily be taken in the more general acceptation of his coming to judge the world. So the phrase is constantly used in the former Epistle. In one place the apostle saith (ii. 19.) *What is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?* In another place he wisheth (iii. 13.) that *the Lord may establish their hearts unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints:* And in a third place he prayeth (v. 23.) that *their whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.* These texts evidently refer to the general judgment: and if the phrase be constantly so employed in the former Epistle, why should it not be taken after the same manner in this Epistle? In the former Epistle the apostle had exhorted the Thessalonians to moderate sorrow for the dead by the consideration of the resurrection and the general judgment, (iv. 13, &c.) *I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word*

(3) Præterea, quo jure potest apostolus inficiari, Judæorum excidium imminere, cum reipsa jam adesset; uti liquet ex prioris epistolæ, Cap. 2. ver 16. [' Besides, how could the apostle deny that the destruction of the Jews was approaching, when in reality it was at hand, as is plain from chap. ii. ver. 16 of his former epistle?'] Bocharti Examen libelli de Antichristo. Tom. 2. Col. 1049.

of the Lord, that we which are alive, and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. But of the times and the seasons of these things, as he proceeds, (v. 1, 2.) *brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night.* Some persons having mistaken the apostle's meaning, and having inferred from some of these expressions, that the end of the world was now approaching, and the day of Christ was now at hand, the apostle sets himself in this place to rectify that mistaken notion: and it is with reference to *this coming of Christ*, to *this day of the Lord*, to *this our gathering together unto him in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air*, that he beseeches the Thessalonians not to be shaken from their stedfastness, nor to be troubled and terrified, as if it was now at hand. Nothing then can be more evident and undeniable, than that the coming of Christ here intended is his second coming in glory to judge the world; and of this his second coming the apostle had spoken before, in this same Epistle, and in the chapter before this. (ver. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.) *It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you: And to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power; When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe in that day.*

It was a point of great importance for the Thessalonians not to be mistaken in this particular; because if they were taught to believe that the coming of Christ was at hand, and he should not come according to their expectation, they might be staggered in their faith, and finding part

of their creed to be false, might be hasty enough to conclude that the whole was so. Where by the way we may observe Mr. Gibbon's want of judgment in assigning the notion of Christ's coming speedily as one of the great causes of the growth and increase of the Christian church, when it appears from this passage that it had a contrary effect, and tended to *shake* and unsettle their minds, and to disturb and *trouble* instead of inviting and engaging them. The apostle therefore cautions them in the strongest manner against this delusion; and assures them that other memorable events will take place before the coming of our Lord. (ver. 3 and 4.) *Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.* The day of Christ shall not come, εαν μη ελθη αποστασια πρωτον, *except there come the apostasy first.* The apostasy here described is plainly not of a civil, but of a religious nature; not a revolt from the government, but a defection from the true religion and worship, *a departing from the faith,* (1 Tim. iv. 1.) *a departing from the living God,* (Heb. iii. 12.) as the word is used by the apostle in other places. In the original it is *the apostacy* with an article to give it an emphasis. The article being added, as Erasmus (4) remarks, signifies that famous and before predicted apostasy. So likewise it is ὁ ανθρωπος της αμαρτιας *the man of sin* with the like article and the like emphasis: and St. (5) Ambrose, that he might express the force of the article, hath rendered it *that man,* as have likewise our English translators. If then the notion of the *man of sin* be derived from any ancient prophet, it must be derived from Daniel, who hath described the like arrogant and tyrannical power: (vii. 25.) *He shall speak great words against the most High,*

(4) ἡ articulus additus significat insignem illam et ante prædictam defectionem. [Translated in the text.] Erasm. in locum.

(5) D. Ambrosius, ut explicaret vim articuli, legit *homo ille,* &c. [Translated in the text.] Erasm. ibid.

and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and again (xi. 36.) *The king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of Gods.* Any man may be satisfied, that St. Paul alluded to this description by Daniel, because he hath not only borrowed the ideas, but hath even adopted some of the phrases and expressions. *The man of sin* may signify either a single man, or a succession of men. A succession of men being meant in Daniel, it is probable, that the same was intended here also. It is the more probable, because a single man appears hardly sufficient for the work here assigned: and it is agreeable to the phraseology of scripture, and especially to that of the prophets, to speak of a body or a number of men under the character of one. Thus *a king* (Dan. vii. viii. Rev. xvii.) is often used for the succession of kings, and *the high priest* (Heb. ix. 7, 25.) for the series and order of high priests. A single beast (Dan. vii. viii. Rev. xiii.) often represents a whole empire or kingdom in all its changes and revolutions from the beginning to the end. The *woman clothed with the sun* (Rev. xii. 1.) is designed as an emblem of the true church; as the *woman arrayed in purple and scarlet* (Rev. xvii. 4.) is the portrait of a corrupt communion. No commentator ever conceived *the whore of Babylon* to be meant of a single woman: and why then should *the man of sin* be taken for a single man? *The man of sin* seemeth to be expressed from Daniel (vii. 24.) according to the Greek translation, ὃς ὑπεροισει κακοις παντας τους εμπροσθεν, he *shall exceed in evil all who went before him:* and he may fulfil the character either by promoting wickedness in general, or by advancing idolatry in particular, as the word *sin* frequently signifies in scripture. *The son of perdition* is also the denomination of the traitor Judas, (John xvii. 12.) which implies that *the man of sin* should be, like Judas, a false apostle, like him betray Christ, and like him be devoted to destruction. *Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped:* this is manifestly copied from

Daniel, *He shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and speak marvellous things against the God of Gods.* The features, you see, exactly resemble each other. He *opposeth and exalteth himself above all,* επι παντα above every one, *that is called God, or that is worshipped,* η σεβασμα, alluding to the title of the Roman emperors, σεβαστος, *august* or *venerable.* He shall oppose, for the prophets speak of things future as present; he shall oppose, and exalt himself not only above inferior magistrates, who are sometimes called *Gods* in holy writ, but even above the greatest emperors, and shall arrogate to himself divine honors. *So that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God:* By the *temple of God* the apostle could not well mean the temple of Jerusalem, because that he knew very well would be totally destroyed within a few years. It is an observation of the learned Bochart, that (6) after the death of Christ the temple at Jerusalem is never called by the apostles the temple of God; and if at any time they make mention of *the house* or *temple of God,* they mean the church in general, or every particular believer. It is certain, *the temple* or *house of God* is the Christian church in the usual stile of the apostles. St. Paul thus addresseth the Corinthians in his first Epistle, (iii. 16, 17.) *Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy: for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are:* and thus again in his second Epistle, (vi. 16.) *What agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God.* He adviseth Timothy (1 Tim. iii. 15.) *how he ought to behave himself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, as a pillar and ground of the truth.* St. John also writeth thus to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, (Rev. iii. 12.) *Him that overcometh will I make a pillar*

(6) Verùm a Christi obitu templum Hierosolymitanum nunquam ab apostolis templum Dei vocatur; et si quando de Dei æde vel templo sermonem habeant, tum vel ecclesiam in genere, vel singularem quemque fidelem, iis vocibus intellecta volunt. [Translated in the text.] Bocharti Examen Libelli de Antichristo. Tom. 2. Col. 1047.

in the temple of my God: These few examples out of many are sufficient to prove, that under the gospel dispensation *the temple of God* is the church of Christ: and the man of sin's *sitting* implies his ruling and presiding there, and *sitting there as God* implies his claiming divine authority in things spiritual as well as temporal, and *showing himself that he is God* implies his doing it with great pride and pomp, with great parade and ostentation.

These things were not asserted now merely to serve the present occasion. The apostle had insisted upon these topics, while he was at Thessalonica; so that he thought it a part of his duty, as he made it a part of his preaching and doctrin, to forewarn his new converts of the grand apostasy that would infest the church. (ver. 5, 6, 7.) *Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth, will lett, until he be taken out of the way.* The man of sin therefore was not then *revealed. His time* was not yet come, or the season for his manifestation. *The mystery of iniquity* was indeed *already working:* for there is a *mystery of iniquity* as well as a *mystery of Godliness,* (1 Tim. iii. 16.) the one in direct opposition to the other. The seeds of corruption were sown, but they were not yet grown up to any maturity. The leaven was fermenting in some parts, but it was far from having yet infected the whole mass. *The man of sin* was yet hardly conceived in the womb; it must be some time before he could be brought forth. There was some obstacle that hindered his appearance, the apostle speaketh doubtfully whether thing or person; and this obstacle would continue to hinder, till it was taken out of the way. What this was we cannot determin with absolute certainty at so great a distance of time; but if we may rely upon the concurrent testimonies of the fathers, it was the Roman empire. Most probably it was somewhat relating to the higher powers, because the apostle observes such caution. He mentioned it in discourse, but

would not commit it to writing. He afterwards exhorts the Thessalonians. (ver. 15.) *Brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.* This was one of the traditions which he thought more proper to teach by word than by epistle.

When this obstacle shall be removed, *then,* as the apostle proceeds, (ver. 8.) *shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.* Nothing can be plainer than that ὁ ανομος, *the lawless, the wicked one* here mentioned, and *the man of sin* must be one and the same person. The apostle was speaking before of what hindered that he should be revealed, and would continue to hinder until it was taken out of the way: *And then shall* the wicked one *be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume, &c.* Not that he should be consumed immediately after he was revealed; but the apostle, to comfort the Thessalonians, no sooner mentions his revelation, than he foretels also his destruction, even before he describes his other qualifications. His other qualifications should have been described first in order of time, but the apostle hastens to what was first and warmest in his thoughts and wishes. *Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming.* If these two clauses refer to two distinct and different events, the meaning manifestly is, that the Lord Jesus shall gradually consume him with the free preaching and publication of his word, and shall utterly destroy him at his second coming in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. If these two clauses relate to one and the same event, it is a pleonasm that is very usual in the sacred as well as in all oriental writings; and the purport plainly is, that the Lord Jesus shall destroy him with the greatest facility, *when he shall be revealed from heaven* (as the apostle hath expressed it in the preceding chapter) *with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

The apostle was eager to foretel the destruction of

the man of sin; and for this purpose having broken in upon his subject, he now returns to it again, and describes the other qualifications, by which this wicked one should advance and establish himself in the world. He should rise to credit and authority by the most diabolical methods, should pretend to supernatural powers, and boast of revelations, visions, and miracles, false in themselves, and applied to promote false doctrins, (ver. 9.) *Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders.* He should likewise practise all other wicked arts of deceit, should be guilty of the most impious frauds and impositions upon mankind; but should prevail only among those who are destitute of a sincere affection for the truth, whereby they might obtain eternal salvation. (ver. 10.) *And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness, in them that perish, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.* And indeed it is a just and righteous judgment of God to give *them* over to vanities and lies in this world, and to condemnation in the next, who have no regard for truth and virtue, but delight in falsehood and wickedness, (ver. 11, and 12.) *And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: That they might all be damned, who believe not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteonsness.*

II. Upon this survey there appears little room to doubt of the genuin sense and meaning of the passage; but it hath strangely been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators, though more agree in the interpretation than in the application of this prophecy.

1. Excellently learned as Grotius was, a consummate scholar, a judicious critic, a valuable author; yet was he certainly no prophet, nor son of a prophet. In explaining the prophecies, scarcely have more mistakes been committed by any of the worst and weakest commentators, than by him who is usually one of the best and ablest. He understands this prophecy of the times preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. *The man of sin* (7) was

(7) Denudet ingenium suum Caius.—Sic et Caius omnibus se Diis gentium prætulit, etiam Jovi Olympio et Capitolino.—Recte autem dicitur Caius

the Roman emperor Caligula, who did not at first discover his wicked disposition. He vainly preferred himself before all the gods of the nation, even before Jupiter Olympius and Capitolinus; and ordered his statue to be set up in the temple at Jerusalem. He was hindered from disclosing and exercising his intended malice against the Jews by his awe of Vitellius, who was at that time governor of Syria and Judea, and was as powerful as he was beloved in those provinces. What follows Grotius could not by any means accommodate to Caligula, and therefore substitutes another, and supposes that *the wicked one* was Simon Magus, who was revealed and came to Rome soon after the beginning of the reign of Claudius. He was there baffled and disgraced by St. Peter; but Christ may well be said to have done what was done by Peter. He pretended also to work great miracles, and by his magical illusions deceived many, the Samaritans first, and afterwards the Romans. But in answer it may be observed, that this Epistle of St. Paul, as (8) all other good critics and

semet posuisse in templo Dei, quia simulacrum suum ibi collocari jussit.—L. Vitellius, cum Paulus ista diceret, et hæc scriberet, Syriam et Judæam tenebat, vir apud Judæos gratiosus, et magnis exercitibus imperans, cui propterea facile fuisset, si tam graviter Judæorum animos exasperasset Caius, eorum tutelam suscipere et provinciam sui facere juris. Ideo Caius, antequam propositum exsequeretur, tempus exspectabat quo L. Vitellius e provincia decederet.—Recte autem *impius* dicitur Simon Magus, qui paulo post initia Claudiani principatûs Romam venit—Bene autem dicitur Christus fecisse quod fecit per Petrum—Ostenta ista et prodigia Simonis magica, &c. —Decipiuntur ab eo homines malè periturî. Intelligit Samaritas primum, deinde et Romanos. ['Let Caius lay open his wicked disposition.—Thus Caius preferred himself before all the gods of the nations, even before Jupiter Olympius and Capitolinus.—It is said with propriety, that Caius "had seated himself in the temple of God" for he had ordered his image to be placed there.—L. Vitellius, at the time that Paul spake and wrote these words, was governor of Syria and Judea, a man very acceptable to the Jews, and commanding a powerful army. To him, on that account, it would have been a very easy matter, if Caius had so much exasperated the minds of the Jews, to have obtained, by patronizing them, the sovereignty of that province.—Therefore Caius, before he executed his design, waited till Vitellius should depart from the province.—With propriety, Simon Magus is called "the wicked one." He soon after Claudius began to reign, came to Rome.—Christ may well be said to have done that, which he did by Peter. The prodigies and magical deceptions of Simon, &c. Men that were to perish miserably are deceived by him.—He means the Samaritans first, and after them the Romans.'] Vide Grot. in locum et de Antichristo.

(8) Pearsonii Annales Paulini, p. 13. Sam. Basnagii Annales. A. D. 51. Sect. 74. A. D. 52. Sect. 12. Whitby Pref. Calmet. Pref. &c. &c.

chronologers agree, and as is evident indeed from history, was written in the latter part of the reign of Claudius, who was successor to Caligula: and if so, the apostle according to this interpretation is here prophesying of things which were past already. *The coming of Christ*, as it hath been before proved undeniably, relates to a more distant period than the destruction of Jerusalem. Besides, how could Caligula with any tolerable sense and meaning be called *an apostate* from either the Jewish or the Christian religion? He never *sat in the temple of God;* he commanded indeed his statue to be placed there; but was dissuaded from his purpose, as (9) Philo testifies, by the intreaties of king Agrippa, and sent an order to Petronius governor of Syria not to make any innovation in the temple of the Jews. He was so far from being kept in awe by the virtues of Vitellius, that Vitellius on the contrary was a most sordid adulator, as both (1) Tacitus and Suetonius expresly affirm; and instead of restraining Caligula from affecting divine honors, he was the first who incited him to it. Moreover it is doing the greatest violence to the context, to make *the man of sin* and *the wicked one* two distinct persons, when they are so manifestly one and the same. The contest between St. Peter and Simon Magus at Rome, if ever it happened at all, did not happen in the reign of Claudius: but most probably there never was any such transaction; the whole story is probably a fabulous legend, and consequently can be no foundation for a true exposition of any prophecy. Where too is the consistency and propriety in interpreting *the coming of Christ* in ver. 1. of the destruction of Jerusalem, and in ver. 8. of the destruction of Simon Magus, though

(9) Philo de Legatione ad Caium. μηδεν επι τω ιερω των Ιουδαιων ετι νεωτερον κινειν. nequid in Judæorum templo novaret. ['That he should not make any innovation in the temple of the Jews.'] p. 1038. Edit. Paris. 1640.

(1) Exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur. ['By posterity he is regarded as a pattern of disgraceful adulation.'] Tacit. Annal. Lib. 6. p. 71. Edit. Lipsii. Idem miri in adulando ingenii, primus C. Cæsarem adorari ut Deum instituit. ['This same man, who had a wonderful talent at flattery, was the first that prompted Cæsar to affect divine honours.'] Suet. in Vitellio. Sect. 2.

Simon Magus was not destroyed, but was only thrown out of his chariot, and his leg broken in the fall? These are some of the absurdities in Grotius's interpretation and application of this prophecy, which you may see more largely exposed and refuted by (2) Bochart among the foreign, and by Dr. Henry More among our English Writers.

2. Dr. Hammond is every where full of Simon Magus and the Gnostics, so that it is the less to be wondered that he should introduce them upon this occasion, and apply this whole prophecy to them, wherein he is more consistent than Grotius, who applies part to Simon Magus, and part to Caligula. *The apostasy*, (3) according to him, was a great departure or defection from the faith to the heresy of the Gnostics. *The man of sin* and *the wicked one* was Simon Magus, that wicked impostor, together with his followers the Gnostics. What hindered their showing themselves and making open profession of their hostility against the orthodox Christians, was the apostles not having yet given over preaching to the Jews, and turned to the Gentiles. This same magician opposed himself against Christ, setting himself up for the chief or first God, superior to all other Gods; and accordingly was publicly worshipped by the Samaritans and others, and had a statue erected to him at Rome by the emperor Claudius. Him Christ destroyed in an extraordinary manner by the preaching and miracles of St. Peter; and all the apostatizing Gnostics who adhered to him, were involved in the destruction of the unbelieving Jews, with whom they had joined against the Christians. But the principal objection to this exposition is the same as to that of Grotius, that the apostle is here made to foretel things after the events. Simon Magus was already revealed, (Acts viii. 9, 10.) *and had bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power*

(2) Bocharti Examen Libelli de Antichristo. Op. Tom. 2. Col. 1044—1051. More's Mystery of Iniquity, Part 2. Book 2. Chap. 20.

(3) See Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations.

of God. Dr. Hammond himself contends, that Simon came to Rome, and was there honored as God, at the beginning of the reign of Claudius; but this Epistle was written in the latter part of the same reign, and even the Doctor in (4) another place confesseth it. The apostles too had already turned from the Jews to the Gentiles. Paul and Barnabas had declared to the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia, (Acts xiii. 46.) *It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles:* but this transaction was before this Epistle was written, and indeed before ever Paul went to Thessalonica. As part of the facts here predicted as future were already past, so the other part are manifestly false, or of uncertain credit at best. The statue erected to Simon Magus at Rome, and his public defeat there by the preaching and miracles of St. Peter in the presence of the emperor, are no better than fables. Even papists doubt the truth of these things, and well may others deny it. Simon Magus might perhaps have many followers; but it doth not appear that many of the Christians apostatized to him. Simon Magus might perhaps be worshipped by the Samaritans; but it doth not appear that he was ever worshipped in the temple of God in Jerusalem, or in any house of God belonging to the Christians. He died by all accounts some years before the destruction of Jerusalem; and it doth not appear that any of the Gnostics were involved in the destruction of the unbelieving Jews. They were so far from being *all* involved in the same destruction as Dr. Hammond asserts, that that sect florished most after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the second century after Christ is sometimes distinguished by the title of Seculum Gnosticum or the age of the Gnostics. Besides when it is said *Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming,* it is evident that the same person who was to be consumed with the spirit of his mouth,

(4) See his Pref. to the 1st Epist. to the Thessalonians.

was also to be destroyed with the brightness of his coming: but according to this exposition, Simon Magus was consumed by the spirit of his mouth, that is by the prayer and preaching of St. Peter; and the unbelieving Jews and Gnostics were destroyed together by the brightness of his coming, that is by the destruction of Jerusalem. They who desire to see a farther refutation of this exposition, may find it in (5) Le Clerc among the foreign, and in Whitby among our English commentators.

3. Le Clerc, whose comment on the New Testament is a translation and supplement of Hammond's, hath not demolished his hypothesis without erecting (6) another of his own, which he esteems much more probable than

(5) Clericus in locum. Whitby's Pref. to the 2d Epist. to the Thessalonians.

(6) Nihil vetat in medium suspicionem proferre, quæ haud paulo verisimilior videtur, et Grotiana et Hammondiana conjectura. Αποστασιαν ergo suspicor Paulum vocare *defectionem* illam magnam Judæorum, qua imperii Romani jugum excutere frustra conaturi sunt,—sequitur *hominem peccati* esse rebelles Judæos, et præsertim eximium eorum ducem Simonem, non Magum, sed Gioræ filium.—Seditiosi Judæi auctoritatem omnem legitimam, cum exterorum, tum popularium, tantum abest ut coluerint, ut contrà sese eâ superiores existimarint.—Scelerati illi Zelotæ et Idumæi, qui templum Jerosolymitanum invaserant, &c.—Το κατεχον est quod coercebat Judæos, ne in apertam rebellionem erumperent; hoc est, partim reverentia procerum Judææ gentis,—partim metus exercituum Romanorum, &c. Μυστηριον ανομιας, quod fieri incipiebat hoc tempore, erat in eo situm, ut specie libertatis, &c.—Verè quidem noster ανομον vocari animadvertit scelestos homines, qui antea designati fuerunt voce ὁ αντικειμενος; sed intelligendi seditiosi Judæi, &c.—Fuere et alii impostores, quorum non uno loco meminit Josephus, &c. [' Nothing forbids my bringing forward a conjecture which appears to be more probable than either that advanced by Grotius or Hammond. I think that by αποστασιαν [*apostasy*] Paul intends that great revolt of the Jews, whereby they would vainly attempt to shake off the yoke of the Romans.—It follows that by *the man of sin*, are intended the rebellious Jews, and especially Simon, not he who is called Magus, but the son of Gioras. The seditious Jews were so far from respecting the lawful authority either of foreigners or of their own people, that on the contrary they considered themselves as superior to both. The wicked zealots and Idumeans, who had seized the temple of Jerusalem, &c. Το κατεχον [*that which letteth*] was that which restrained the Jews from breaking out into an open rebellion,—that was, partly their reverence for the Jewish nation, and partly their fear of the Roman army.—Μυστηριον ανομιας, [*the mystery of iniquity,*] which began about this time, consisted in this, that under the mask of liberty, &c.—Truly indeed our author hath observed, that by ανομον [*the wicked one,*] are designed profligate and abandoned persons, who were before pointed out by the word ὁ αντικειμενος [*he that opposeth himself,*] but the seditious Jews are here to be understood, &c. There were other impostors, of whom Josephus frequently makes mention,' &c.] Clerc. in locum.

the conjecture both of Grotius and Hammond. He supposeth that *the apostasy* was the great revolt of the Jews from the Romans. *The man of sin* was the rebellious Jews, and especially their famous leader Simon, not Magus, but the son of Gioras. They trampled upon all authority divine and human. They seised and profaned the temple of God. *What hindered* was what restrained the Jews from breaking into open rebellion, which was partly the reverence of the Jewish magistrates, and partly the fear of the Roman armies. *The mystery of iniquity* was the spirit of rebellion then working under the mask of liberty. The seditious Jews were also *the wicked one;* and they had among them false prophets and impostors, who pretended to show great *signs* and *wonders.* But to this hypothesis it may be replied, that the *apostasy* is plainly a defection from the true religion, and it is used in no other sense by the apostle. It was not likely that he should entertain his new Gentile converts with discourses about the Jewish state and government, wherewith they had little concern or connexion. It was also scarce worthy of the spirit of prophesy to say, that the destruction of Jerusalem should not happen, unless there was first a rebellion of the Jews. No good reason is assigned, why Simon the son of Gioras should be reputed *the man of sin,* rather than other factious leaders, John and Eleazar. No proof is alleged, that he was ever worshipped *in the temple of God as God.* He was not *exalted above every God or emperor;* for he was vanquished and made the emperor's prisoner. His coming was not *with all signs and lying wonders;* for he never pretended to any such power. He was not destroyed in the destruction of Jerusalem; but was preserved alive, and (7) was afterwards led in triumph at Rome, and then was dragged through the streets with a rope about his neck, and was severely scourged, and at last put to death in the common prison. Besides it is not very consistent in this learned critic, by *the coming of*

(7) Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 5. Sect. 6. Edit. Hudson.

Christ in ver. 8. to understand the destruction of Jerusalem, and in his note upon ver. 1. to say that (8) *the coming of Christ* both in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians and in this, is the coming of Christ to judge the quick and dead.

4. Dr. Whitby's (9) scheme is somewhat perplexed and confused, as if he was not satisfied himself with his own explication. "*The apostasy* is the revolt of the "Jews from the Roman empire, or from the faith." If the former, it is the same mistaken notion as Le Clerc's. If the latter, it is true that many were to apostatize from the faith, before the destruction of Jerusalem, according to the prediction of our Saviour: but it doth not appear that their number was so very great, as to deserve to be called by way of eminence and distinction *the apostasy*. "*The man of sin* is the Jewish nation "with their high-priest and sanhedrim." But the Jewish nation with their high-priest and sanhedrim could not be said *to apostatize* from the faith which they never received: and those Christian Jews, who did apostatize, were never united under any one head or leader, famous or infamous enough to merit the title of *the man of sin*. The Jewish nation too with their high-priest and sanhedrim were already revealed; and most of the instances which this author allegeth, of their opposing the Christian religion, and exalting themselves above all laws divine and human, were prior to the date of this Epistle. He was himself aware of this objection, and endevors to prevent it by saying, "that these are the descriptions of "*the man of sin*, by which the Thessalonians might then "know him, and they run all in the present tense, "showing what he already did." But it is the known and usual style of prophecy to speak of things future as present, intimating that though future they are as sure and certain as if they were even now present. "*He* "*who now letteth* is the Roman emperor Claudius, and

(8) παρουσια Christi et in 1 Ep. ad Thessalonicenses, et in hac est adventus Christi, ad judicandum de vivis et mortuis. [Translated in the text.] Cleric. ibid.

(9) See Whitby's Paraphrase and Commentary.

" he *will let until he be taken out of the way*, that is, " he will hinder the Jews from breaking out into an " open rebellion in his time, they being so signally and " particularly obliged by him." But how utterly improbable it is, that the apostle should talk and write of Jewish politics to Gentile converts! If Claudius withheld the Jews from revolting from the Roman government, did he withhold them also from apostatizing from the Christian faith? or what was it that withheld them? and what then becomes of that interpretation? " When " Claudius shall be taken out of the way, as he was by " poison, then they *shall be revealed*, either by actual " apostasy from the Roman government, or by the great " apostasy of the believers of that nation." But the apostasy of believers was not near so *great* nor universal as the apostasy from the Roman government. Here too is the same ambiguity and uncertainty as before. The prophecy plainly intends one sort of apostasy, and this learned commentator proposeth two, and inclines sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, as may best suit his hypothesis. He is guilty too of the same inconsistency as Le Clerc, in interpreting *the coming of Christ* in the former Epistle, and in this Epistle, and in the first verse of this very chapter, of his coming to judge the world; and yet in verse the eighth, of his coming to destroy Jerusalem. But if the destruction of Jerusalem only was meant, what need had the Thessalonians to be under such consternation, to be *shaken in mind*, and to be *troubled*, that *the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost*, as the apostle saith, (1 Thess. ii. 15, 16.) *who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men, forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they might be saved.* It was matter of consolation, rather than of trouble or terror to the Thessalonians; and as such the apostle mentions it in his former Epistle.

5. But of all the applications of this prophecy none is more extraordinary than that of the late professor Wetstein, the learned and laborious editor of the New Testa-

ment with the various readings and copious annotations. "By *the man of sin* and *the wicked one* he (1) understands Titus or the Flavian family. *The mystery of iniquity* was then *working*, because at that time Vespasian had borne the office of consul, had received the honors of a triumph, and even under Caligula had entertained some hopes of the empire. *He who letteth* was Nero, who was now adopted by the emperor." One is really ashamed and grieved to see a scholar and critic fall into such absurdities. What! was Titus then, as well as the emperor Julian, an *apostate?* Was he, who was one of the best emperors, *the love and delight of mankind*, to be branded with the odious appellations of *the man of sin* and *the wicked one?* Even Domitian was not worse than several other emperors both before and after him. How did Titus and the Flavian family *oppose and exalt themselves above every God or emperor?* How did they *as God sit in the temple of God, showing themselves that they were Gods?* Why was Vespasian's hoping for the empire *the mystery of iniquity*, more than Galba's, or Otho's, or Vitellius's hoping for the same? When Nero was *taken out of the way*, were not these three emperors Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, all *revealed* before the Flavian family? How was *the coming* of Titus and the Flavian family *with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness?* How were their adherents and followers such eminently as *received not the love of truth that they might be saved, but believed a lie, that they might be damned, and had pleasure in unrighteousness?* How were Titus and the Flavian family destroyed in the destruction of Jerusalem, when they were themselves the destroyers of it, and reigned several years afterwards? Was there an illustrious coming of Christ, when Titus or any of the Flavian family died? Or how can the Lord be said *to consume them with the spirit of his mouth, and to destroy them*

(1) Intelligo Titum sive domum Flaviam——μυστηριον της ανομιας, Eo tempore Vespasianus consulatum jam gesserat, triumphalia acceperat, et jam sub Caio in spem imperii venerat.—ὁ κατεχων, Nero jam adoptatus erat, &c. [Translated in the text.] Wetstenius in locum.

with the brightness of his coming? It surpasseth all comprehension, how this learned professor could think of such an application, without asking himself some such questions; or how he could ask himself any such questions, without clearly perceiving the impossibility of answering them. We cannot suppose that he would have made a compliment of his religion, but he hath certainly of his understanding to Cardinal Quirini, in this instance as well as his comment upon the Revelation, which, (2) as he humbly hopeth, will not displease his eminency, and then he shall be transcendently happy.

It is a farther objection to Wetstein, as also to Grotius, Hammond, Le Clerc, and Whitby, that they are so singular in their opinions; they differ as much from one another, as from the generality of interpreters; and as they dissent from all who went before them, so they are followed by none who came after them. If this prophecy was fulfilled, as these critics conceive, before the destruction of Jerusalem, it is surprising that none of the fathers should agree with any of them in the same application, and that the discovery should first be made sixteen or seventeen hundred years after the completion. The fathers might differ and be mistaken in the circumstances of a prophecy which was yet to be fulfilled; but that a prophecy should be remarkably accomplished before their time, and they be totally ignorant of it, and speak of the accomplishment as still future, is not very credible, and will always be a strong presumptive argument against any such interpretation. The foundation of all the mistakes of these learned men is their interpreting *the coming of Christ,* of the destruction of Jerusalem: whereas the context, as it hath been shown, plainly evinces, and they themselves at other times acknowlege, that it is to be understood of his coming to judge the world. They therefore bid fairer for the true interpre-

(2) —cui si, uti spero, vel interpretationem Apocalypseos, vel conatum saltem meum non displicuisse intellexero, *sublimi feriam sidera vertice.* ['Whom if, as I hope, I shall understand, that my interpretation of the Revelation, or at least the attempt that I have made, has not displeased, I shall transcendently exult.'] Idem. de Interpret. Apoc. Tom. 2. p. 894.

tation, who apply this prophecy to events after the destruction of Jerusalem.

6. Of those who apply this prophecy to events after the destruction of Jerusalem, some papists, and some persons who think like papists, contend that the character of *the man of sin* was drawn for the great impostor Mohammed: and it must be confessed, that the portrait resembles him in many respects. He was indeed *a man of sin* both in life and in doctrin. He might be said to *sit in the temple of God*, when he converted the churches into mosques. He likewise rose upon the ruins of the Roman empire: and the Roman empire is generally thought to be *what withholdeth*. But though some features are alike, yet others are very much unlike, and demonstrate a manifest difference. He was not properly an *apostate*, for he and his countrymen the Arabians were not Christians but Heathens, though he made many Christians afterwards apostatize from the faith. *The mystery of iniquity*, as we have seen, was *working* in the days of the apostles: but there were not then any indications of the rise and increase of Mohammedism; it sprung up of a sudden like a mushroom, whose seeds the winds scattered over the face of the earth. The *apostacy* was to precede and introduce *the man of sin*, but this man of sin was the first author of this apostasy. And what is the most material, he never pretended to confirm his mission, or authorize his doctrin by miracles. *His coming was not with all power, and signs, and lying wonders*: on the contrary he (3) declared, that "God "had sent Moses and Jesus with miracles, and yet men "would not be obedient to their word; and therefore "he had now sent him in the last place without miracles, "to force them by the power of his sword to do his "will." Some of his followers have ascribed miracles to him: but as Dr. Prideaux observes, "those who "relate them are only such who are reckoned among "their fabulous and legendary writers. Their learned "doctors renounce them all, as doth Mohammed him-

(3) See Pridcaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 26 and 28. 8th Edit. 1723.

" self, who in several places in his Koran owns that he " wrought no miracles."

7. Others of the papists affirm, that *the apostasy* is the falling away from the church of Rome by the doctrins of the Reformation. But who then is *the man of sin*, Luther and his followers, or Calvin and his followers, or who? for the protestants are far from being united under any one head. Which of the protestant churches exalts herself above every God and magistrate? Which of them arrogates to herself divine honors and titles? Which of them pretends to establish her doctrin and disciplin by miracles? These things would be ridiculously and absurdly objected to the protestant churches, and more ridiculously and absurdly still by the members of the church of Rome.

8. The greater part of the Romish doctors, it must be confessed, give another interpretation, and acknowlege that (4) the fathers and the best interpreters understand this unanimously of Antichrist, who will appear in the world before the great day of judgment to combat religion and the saints. But then they conceive that Antichrist is not yet revealed, that he is only one man, and that he will continue only three years and a half. But we have shown before, that *the man of sin* is not a single man, any more than *the whore of Babylon* is a single woman. The one as well as the other is to be understood of a whole order and succession of persons. *The mystery of iniquity* was working, and preparing the way for *the man of sin* even in the apostles days; and is it not very extraordinary, that 1700 years should elapse, and that he should not yet be revealed? *What withholdeth*, they say was the Roman empire: and the Roman empire might be powerful enough to hinder his appearance at that time, but how hath it withheld and hindered all this while? As this evil began in the apostles days, and was to continue in the world till the second

(4) Les Peres, et les meilleurs interprétes entendent unanimement ceci de l'Ante-Christ, qui doit paroître dans le monde avant le grand jour du jugement, pour combattre la religion, et les saints. [Translated in the text.] Calmet. Comment. et Dissertation sur l'Ante-Christ.

coming of Christ in power and great glory; it necessarily follows that it was to be carried on not by one man, but by a succession of men in several ages. It cannot be taking root and growing imperceptibly 1700 years and more, and yet florish under its chief head only three years and a half. There needeth not surely so much preparation for so little effect. Neither are three years and a half a period sufficient for Antichrist to act the parts and to fulfil the characters which are assigned him; unless he hath also this property of divinity, that *one day is with him as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.*

III. The detection of falsehood is the next step towards the discovery of truth: and having seen how this passage hath been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators, we may be the better enabled to vindicate and establish what we conceive to be the only true and legitimate application. The Thessalonians, from some expressions in the former Epistle, were alarmed as if the end of the world was at hand, and Christ was coming to judgment. The apostle, to correct their mistakes and dissipate their fears, assures them, that the coming of Christ will not be yet awhile; there will be first a great apostasy or defection of Christians from the true faith and worship. This apostasy all the concurrent marks and characters will justify us in charging upon the church of Rome. The apostle mentions this apostasy in another place, (1 Tim. iv. 1, &c.) and specifies some articles, as *doctrins of demons, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats,* which will warrant the same conclusion. The true Christian worship is the worship of *the one only God* through *the one only mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus:* and from this worship the church of Rome hath notoriously departed by substituting other mediators, and invocating and adoring saints and angels. Nothing is apostasy, if idolatry be not; and the same kind of idolatry is practised in the church of Rome, that the prophets and inspired writers arraign and condemn as apostasy and rebellion in the Jewish Church. The Jews never totally rejected the true

God, but only worshipped him through the medium of some image, or in conjunction with some other beings: and are not the members of the church of Rome (5) guilty of the same idolatry and apostasy in the worship of images, in the adoration of the host, in the invocation of angels and saints, and in the oblation of prayers and praises to the virgin Mary, as much or more than to God blessed for ever? This is the grand corruption of the Christian church, this is *the apostasy* as it is emphatically called, and deserves to be called, *the apostasy* that the apostle had warned the Thessalonians of before, *the apostasy* that had also been foretold by the prophet Daniel.

If the apostasy be rightly charged upon the church of Rome, it follows of consequence that *the man of sin* is the pope, not meaning this or that pope in particular, but the pope in general, as the chief head and supporter of this apostasy. The apostasy produces him, and he again promotes the apostasy. He is properly *the man of sin*, not only on account of the scandalous lives of many popes, but by reason of their more scandalous doctrins and principles, dispensing with the most necessary duties, and granting or rather selling pardons and indulgences to the most abominable crimes. Or if by *sin* be meant idolatry particularly as in the Old Testament, it is evident to all how he hath corrupted the worship of God, and perverted it from *spirit and truth* to superstition and idolatry of the grossest kind. He also, like the false apostle Judas, is *the son of perdition*, whether actively as being the cause and occasion of destruction to others, or passively as being destined and devoted to destruction himself. *He opposeth;* he is the great adversary to God and man, excommunicating and anathematizing, persecuting and destroying by croisadoes and inquisitions, by massacres and horrid executions, those sincere Christians, who prefer the word of God to all the authority of men. The Heathen emperor of Rome may have slain his thou-

(5) See Stillingfleet's Discourse concerning the Idolatry of the church of Rome, Chap. 1 and 2. Vol. 5. of his works.

sands of innocent Christians, but the Christian bishop of Rome hath slain his ten thousands. There is scarce any country, that hath not at one time or other been made the stage of these bloody tragedies: scarce any age that hath not in one place or other seen them acted. *He exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped;* not only above inferior magistrates, but likewise above bishops and primates, exerting an absolute jurisdiction and uncontrolled supremacy over all; not only above bishops and primates, but likewise above kings and emperors, deposing some, and advancing others, obliging them to prostrate themselves before him, to kiss his toe, to hold his stirrup, to (6) wait bare-footed at his gate, treading (7) even upon the neck, and (8) kicking off the imperial crown with his foot; not only above kings and emperors, but likewise above Christ and God himself, *making the word of God of none effect by his traditions, forbidding* what God hath commanded, as *marriage*, communion in both kinds, the use of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and the like, and also commanding or allowing what God hath forbidden, as idolatry, persecution, works of supererogation, and various other instances. *So that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.* He is therefore in profession a Christian, and a Christian bishop. His *sitting in the temple of God* plainly implies his having a seat or cathedra in the Christian church: and he sitteth there *as God*, especially at his inauguration, when he sitteth upon the high altar in St. Peter's church, and maketh the table of the Lord his footstool, and in that position receiveth adoration. At all times he exerciseth divine authority in the church, *showing himself that he is God*, affecting divine titles and attributes as holiness and infallibility, assuming divine powers and prerogatives in condemning and absolving men, in retaining and forgiving sins, in asserting his decrees to be of the same or

(6) As Hildebrand or Gregory VII. did to Henry IV.
(7) As Alexander III. did to Frederic I.
(8) As Celestin did to Henry VI.

greater authority than the word of God, and commanding them to be received under the penalty of the same or greater damnation. Like another Salmoneus he is proud to imitate the state and thunder of the Almighty; and is stiled, and pleased to be (9) stiled, 'Our Lord 'God the pope; another God upon the earth; king of 'kings, and lord of lords. The same is the dominion 'of God and the pope. To believe that our Lord God 'the pope might not decree, as he decreed, it were a 'matter of heresy. The power of the pope is greater 'than all created power, and extends itself to things ce-'lestial, terrestrial, and infernal. The pope doeth what-'soever he listeth, even things unlawful, and is more 'than God.' Such blaphemies are not only allowed, but are even approved, encouraged, and rewarded in the writers of the church of Rome; and they are not only the extravagances of private writers, but are the language even of public decretals and acts of councils. So that the pope is evidently the God upon earth: at least there is no one like him, who *exalteth himself above every God;* no one like him, *who sitteth as God in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.*

But if the bishop of Rome be *the man of sin,* it may seem somewhat strange that the apostle should mention these things in an Epistle to the Thessalonians, and not rather in his Epistle to the Romans. But this epistle was written four or five years before that to the Romans, and there was no occasion to mention the same things again in another epistle. What was written to the Thessalonians or any particular church, was in effect written to all the churches, the epistles being designed for general edification, and intended to be read publicly in the

(9) Dominus Deus noster papa. Alter Deus in terra. Rex regum dominus dominorum. Idem est dominium Dei et papæ. Credere Dominum Deum nostrum papam non potuisse statuere, prout statuit, hæreticum censeretur. Papæ potestas est major omni potestate creata, extenditque se ad cœlestia, terrestria, et infernalia. Papa facit quicquid libet, etiam illicita, et est plus quam Deus. [Translated in the text.] See these and the like instances quoted in Bishop Jewel's Apology and Defense, in Downham's treatise de Antichristo, and Poole's English Annotations. See likewise Barrow's treatise of the Pope's Supremacy in the Introduction.

congregations of the faithful. When St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, he had not been at Rome, and consequently could not allude to any former discourse with them, as with the Thessalonians: and these things were not proper to be fully explained in a letter, and especially in a letter addressed to the Christian converts at the capital city of the empire. The apostles with all their prudence were represented as enemies to government, and were charged with *turning the world upside down*; (Acts xvii. 6.) but the accusation would have been sounded higher, if St. Paul had denounced openly, and to Romans too, the destruction of the Roman empire. However he admonished them to beware of apostasy, (Rom. xi. 20, 22.) and to *continue in God's goodness*, or *otherwise they shall be cut off*: and afterwards when he visited Rome, and dwelt there *two whole years*, (Acts xxviii. 30.) he might have frequent opportunities of informing them particularly of these things. It is not to be supposed, that he discoursed of these things only to the Thessalonians. It was a matter of concern to all Christians to be forewarned of the great corruption of Christianity, that they might be neither surprised into it, nor offended at it; and the caution was the more necessary, as *the mystery of iniquity was already working*. The seeds of popery were sown in the apostle's time; for even then *idolatry* was stealing into the church, (1 Cor. x. 14.) and *a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels*, (Col. ii. 18.) *strife and divisions*, (1 Cor. iii. 3.) an *adulterating and handling of the word of God deceitfully*, (2 Cor. ii. 17. iv. 2.) *a gain of godliness, and teaching of things for filthy lucre's sake*, (1 Tim. vi. 5. Tit. i. 11.) a vain observation of festivals, (Gal. iv. 10.) a vain distinction of meats, (1 Cor. viii. 8.) a *neglecting of the body*, (Col. ii. 23.) *traditions, and commandments, and doctrins of men*, (Col. ii. 8, 22.) with other corruptions and innovations. All heretics were in a manner the forerunners of *the man of sin*; and Simon Magus in particular was so lively a type and figure of *the wicked one*, that he hath been mistaken, as we see, for *the wicked one* himself.

The foundations of popery were laid indeed in the apostles' days, but the superstructure was raised by degrees, and several ages passed before the building was completed, and *the man of sin* was *revealed* in full perfection. St. Paul having communicated to the Thessalonians what it was that hindered his appearance, it was natural for other Christians also who read this Epistle, to inquire *what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time;* and the apostle without doubt would impart it to other Christians as freely as to the Thessalonians; and the Thessalonians and other Christians might deliver it to their successors, and so the tradition might generally prevail, and the tradition that generally prevailed was that what hindered was the Roman empire: and therefore the primitive Christians in the public offices of the church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire should be dissolved and broken into pieces, the empire of *the man of sin* would be raised on its ruins. How this revolution was effected, no writer can better inform us than (1) Machiavel. "The emperor of Rome quitting Rome to hold his resi- "dence at Constantinople, the Roman empire began "to decline, but the church of Rome augmented as fast. "Nevertheless, until the coming in of the Lombards, "all Italy being under the dominion either of emperors "or kings, the bishops assumed no more power than "what was due to their doctrin and manners; in civil "affairs, they were subject to the civil power.—But "Theodoric king of the Goths fixing his seat at Ra- "venna, was that which advanced their interest, and "made them more considerable in Italy; for there be- "ing no other prince left in Rome, the Romans were "forced for protection to pay greater allegiance to "the pope. And yet their authority advanced no far- "ther at that time, than to obtain the preference before "the church of Ravenna. But the Lombards having "invaded, and reduced Italy into several cantons, the

(1) Machiavel's Hist. of Florence, Book 1. p. 6, &c. of the English translation.

" pope took the opportunity, and began to hold up his
" head. For being as it were governor and principal at
" Rome, the emperor of Constantinople and the Lom-
" bards bare him a respect, so that the Romans (by me-
" diation of their pope) began to treat and confederate
" with Longinus the [emperor's lieutenant] and the
" Lombards, not as subjects, but as equals and com-
" panions; which said custom continuing, and the popes
" entering into alliance sometimes with the Lombards,
" and sometimes with the Greeks, contracted great re-
" putation to their dignity. But the destruction of the
" eastern empire following so close under the reign of
" the emperor Heracleus,—the pope lost the conve-
" nience of the emperor's protection in time of adver-
" sity, and the power of the Lombards increasing too
" fast on the other side, he thought it but necessary to
" address himself to the king of France for assistance.—
" Gregory the third being created pope, and Aistolfus
" king of the Lombards, Aistolfus contrary to league
" and agreement seised upon Ravenna, and made war
" upon the pope. Gregory not daring (for the reasons
" abovesaid) to depend upon the weakness of the em-
" pire, or the fidelity of the Lombards, (whom he had
" already found false) applied himself to Pepin—for re-
" lief against the Lombards. Pepin returned answer,
" that he would be ready to assist him, but he desired
" first to have the honor to see him, and pay his per-
" sonal respects. Upon which invitation pope Gregory
" went into France, passing through the Lombards
" quarters, without any interruption, so great reverence
" they bare to religion in those days. Being arrived and
" honorably received in France, he was after some time
" dismissed with an army into Italy; which having be-
" sieged Pavia, and reduced the Lombards to distress,
" Aistolfus was constrained to certain terms of agree-
" ment with the French, which were obtained by the
" intercession of the pope.—Among the rest of the ar-
" ticles of that treaty it was agreed, that Aistolfus
" should restore all the lands he had usurped from the
" church. But when the French army was returned

" into France, Aistolfus forgot his engagement, which " put the pope upon a second application to king Pepin, " who supplied him again, sent a new army into Italy, " overcame the Lombards, and possessed himself of Ra- " venna, and (contrary to the desire of the Grecian em- " peror) gave it to the pope, with all the lands under " that exarchate.—In the interim Aristolfus died, and " Desiderio a Lombard, and duke of Tuscany, taking " up arms to succeed him, begged assistance of the " pope, with promise of perpetual amity for the future. " —At first Desiderio was very punctual,—delivered up " the towns as he took them to the pope, according " to his engagement to king Pepin; nor was there any " exarch sent afterwards from Constantinople to Ra- " venna, but all was arbitrary, and managed according " to the pleasure of the pope. Not long after Pepin " died, and Charles his son succeeded in the govern- " ment, who was called the great from the greatness of " of his exploits. About the same time Theodore the " first was advanced to the papacy, and falling out with " Desiderio was besieged by him in Rome. In his ex- " igence the pope had recourse to the king of France, " (as his predecessor had done before him) and Charles " not only supplied him with an army, but marching " over the Alps at the head of it himself, he besieged " Desiderio in Pavia, took him and his son in it, sent " them both prisoners into France, and went in person " to Rome to visit the pope, where he adjudged and " determined, *that his Holiness being God's vicar, could* " *not be subject to the judgment of men.* For which the " pope and people together declared him emperor, and " Rome began again to have an emperor of the west: " and whereas formerly the popes were confirmed by the " emperors, the emperor now in his election was to be " beholden to the pope; by which means the power and " dignity of the empire declined, and the church began " to advance, and by these steps to usurp upon the au- " thority of temporal princes."

In this manner the emperor of Rome, or *he who letteth,* was *taken out of the way,* and the bishop of Rome

was advanced in his stead. In the same proportion as the power of the empire decreased, the authority of the church increased, the latter at the expense and ruin of the former; till at length the pope grew up above all, and ὁ ανομος *the wicked one* was fully manifested and *revealed*, or *the lawless one* as he may be called; for the pope (2) is declared again and again not to be bound by any law of God or man. *His coming is after the energy of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness:* and doth it require any particular proof, or is it not too generally known, that the pretensions of the pope, and the corruptions of the church of Rome are all supported and authorized by feigned visions and miracles, by pious frauds and impostures of every kind? Bellarmin reckons (3) the glory of miracles as the eleventh note of the catholic church, but the apostle assigns them as a distinguishing mark and character of *the man of sin.* The church of Rome pretends to miracles, Mohammed disclaims them; and this is one very good reason, why *the man of sin* is the Pope rather than the Turk. There hath been printed at London, so lately as in the year 1756, a book intitled *The miraculous power of the church of Christ asserted through each successive century from the apostles down to the present time;* and from thence the author draweth the conclusion, that the catholic church is the true church of Christ. They must certainly *not receive the love of the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness,* who can believe such fabulous and ridiculous legends, who hold it a mortal sin but to doubt of any article of their religion, who deny the free exercise of private judgment, who take away the free use of the holy scriptures, and so *shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves, neither suffering them, who were entering, to go in.* If they will still maintain their miracles to be true, yet they are no proof of

(2) See Bishop Jewel's Apology and Defense, p. 313, 314, 430, &c.

(3) Undecima nota est gloria miraculorum. ['The eleventh note, is, the glory of miracles.'] Bellar. de Notis Ecclesiæ. Lib. 4. Cap. 14.

the true church, but rather of the contrary. They are the miracles here predicted, and if they were really wrought, were wrought in favor of falsehood: and indeed it is a proper retaliation, that God in his judgments *should send men strong delusion that they should believe a lie, who received not the love of the truth that they might be saved;* a proper retaliation, that he should suffer some real miracles to be wrought, to deceive those, who have counterfeited so many miracles to deceive others.

But how much soever *the man of sin* may be exalted, and how long soever he may reign, yet at last *the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming.* This is partly taken from the prophet Isaiah, (xi. 4.) *and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked one:* where the Jews, as Lightfoot (4) observes, "put an emphasis "upon that word in the prophet *the wicked one,* as it "appeareth by the Chaldee paraphrast, who hath ut-"tered it *He shall destroy the wicked Roman.*" If the two clauses, as it was said before, relate to two different events, the meaning manifestly is, that the Lord Jesus shall gradually consume him with the free preaching of his gospel, and shall utterly destroy him at his second coming in the glory of his Father. The former began to take effect at the Reformation, and the latter will be accomplished in God's appointed time. *The man of sin* is now upon the decline, and he will be totally abolished, when Christ shall come in judgment. The kingdom of falsehood and sin shall end, and the reign of truth and virtue shall succeed. *Great is the truth, and will* at last *prevail.*

The man of sin then is the same arbitrary and wicked power that is described by Daniel under the characters of *the little horn* and *the mighty king.* In St. Paul he is *revealed,* when the Roman empire is *taken out of the way;* and in Daniel the Roman empire is first broken into several kingdoms, and he *cometh up among them.*

(4) Lightfoot's Works, Vol. 1. 296.

In St. Paul *he opposeth;* and in Daniel *he doeth according to his will,* and *weareth out the saints of the most High.* In St. Paul *he exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped, showing himself that he is God;* and in Daniel *he exalteth himself and magnifieth himself above every God, and speaketh marvellous things against the God of Gods.* In St. Paul he is *the lawless one;* and in Daniel *he changeth times and laws.* In St. Paul *his coming is with all deceivableness of unrighteousness;* and in Daniel *he practiseth and prospereth, and through his policy causeth craft to prosper in his hand.* According to St. Paul *the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming;* and according to Daniel *a fiery stream shall issue and come forth* from the judge, and *his body shall be given to the burning flame, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end.* The characters and circumstances are so much the same, that they must belong to one and the same person.

The tyrannical power thus described by Daniel and St. Paul, and afterwards by St. John, is both by ancients and moderns generally denominated *Antichrist:* and the name is proper and expressive enough, as it may signify (5) both *the enemy of Christ,* and *the vicar of Christ:* and no one is more the enemy of Christ than he who arrogates his name and power, as no one more directly opposes the king than he who assumes his title and authority. The name began to prevail in St. John's time. For he addresseth himself to the Christians as having heard of the coming of Antichrist, and calleth the heretics of his time by the same common name: (1 Ep. ii. 18, 22.) *As ye have heard that the Antichrist shall come, even now are there many Antichrists: Who is a lier but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? he is the Antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son.* As St. Paul hath said, *The mystery of iniquity doth already work:* so St. John speaketh of the spirit of Antichrist as then

(5) Αντι signifies *pro, vice, loco* ['*for, in the room of, in the place of*,'] as well as *contra, e regione, ex adverso;* ['*against, contrary to, in opposition to,*'] *and* αντιβασιλευς is prorex, ['a viceroy,'] ανθυπατος proconsul, ['a proconsul.']

in the world; (iv. 3.) *This is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof you have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the world.* Afterwards (2 Eph. 7, 8.) he stileth him emphatically *the deceiver and the Antichrist*, and warneth the Christians to *look to themselves.* The fathers too speak of *Antichrist* and of *the man of sin* as one and the same person; and give much the same interpretation that hath here been given of the whole passage: only it is not to be supposed, that they who wrote before the events, could be so very exact in the application of each particular, as those who have the advantage of writing after the events, and of comparing the prophecy and completion together.

Justin Martyr, who florished before the middle of the second century, (6) considers *the man of sin*, or as he elsewhere calleth him *the man of blasphemy*, as altogether the same with *the little horn* in Daniel; and affirms that he, who shall speak blasphemous words against the most High, is now at the doors. Irenæus, who lived in the same century, hath written (7) a whole chapter of the fraud, and pride, and tyrannical reign of Antichrist, as they are described by Daniel and St. Paul in his second Epistle to the Thessalonians. Tertullian who became famous at the latter end of the same century, expounding those words *only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way*, (8) says "who can this be but the 'Roman state, the division of which into ten kingdoms 'will bring on Antichrist, and then the wicked one shall 'be revealed.' And in his Apology he (9) assigns it

(6) Dial. cum Tryph. p. 250. Edit. Paris. p. 201. Edit. Thirlbii. και το βλασφημα και τολμηρα εις τον ὑψιστον μελλοντ© λαλειν ηδη επι θυραις οντος. eoque qui impie et temerarie maledicta in Altissimum prolocuturus est, jam pro foribus assistente. ['And he that is to speak with blasphemy and audacity against the Most High, is truly now standing at the door.'] Vide etiam p. 336. Edit. Paris. 371. Edit. Thirlbii.

(7) Adversus Hæreses, Lib. 5. Cap. 25. Antichristi fraus, superbia, et tyrannicum regnum, prout a Daniele et Paulo descripta sunt. ['The fraud, pride, and tyrannical government of Antichrist, as they are described by Daniel and Paul.'] p. 437. Edit. Grabe.

(8) Quis, nisi Romanus status? cujus abscessio in decem reges dispersa Antichristum superducet, et tunc revelabitur iniquus. [Translated in the Text.] De Resurrect. Carnis. Cap. 24. p. 340. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris. 1675.

(9) Est et alia major necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro-

as a particular reason why the Christians prayed for the Roman empire, because they knew that the greatest calamity hanging over the world was retarded by the continuance of it.

Origen the most learned father and ablest writer of the third century, (1) recites this passage at large as spoken of him who is called Antichrist. To the same purpose he likewise alleges the words of Daniel as truly divine and prophetic. Daniel and St. Paul, according to him, both prophesied of the same person.

Lactantius, who florished in the beginning of the fourth century, describes Antichrist in the same manner, and almost in the same terms as St. Paul; and (2) concludes 'This is he, who is called Antichrist, but shall 'feign himself to be Christ, and shall fight against the 'truth.' A shorter and fuller character of the vicar of Christ could not be drawn even by a protestant. Cyril of Jerusalem in the same century alleges this passage of St. Paul together with other prophecies concerning Antichrist, and (3) says that 'This the predicted Antichrist 'will come, when the times of the Roman empire shall 'be fulfilled, and the consummation of the world shall 'approach. Ten kings of the Romans shall arise to-'gether, in different places indeed, but they shall reign 'at the same time. Among these the eleventh is Antichrist,

omni statu imperii, rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem—Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari. ['There is still another and greater necessity that we should pray for the emperors, for the whole state of the empire, and for whatever relates to the Roman affairs, because we know that it is by these, the greatest calamity awaiting the whole world is withheld.'] Apol. Cap. 32. p. 27. Ibid.

(1) Contra Celsum. Lib. 6. p. 668. Opera Tom. 1. Edit. Benedict.

(2) Hic est autem, qui appellatur Antichristus; sed se ipse Christum mentietur, et contra verum dimicabit. [Translated in the text.] Lactant. Lib. 7. Cap. 19.

(3) ερχεται δε ὁ προειρημενος Αντιχριστος ὁταν πληρωθωσιν οἱ καιροι της Ρωμαιων βασιλειας, και πλησιαζει λοιπον τα της τυ κοσμυ συντελειας· δεκα μεν ὁμυ Ρωμαιων εγειρονται βασιλεις· εν διαφοροις μεν ισως τοποις, κατα δε τον αυτον βασιλευυσι καιρον· μετα δε τυτυς ενδεκατος ὁ Αντιχριστος, εκ της μαγικης κακοτεχνιας την Ρωμαϊκην εξυσιαν αρπασας. Veniet autem hic prædictus Antichristus, cum impleta fuerint tempora imperii Romani, et mundi consummatio appropinquabit. Decem simul reges Romanorum excitabuntur, in diversis quidem locis, eodem tamen tempore regnantes. Post istos autem undecimus Antichristus, per magicum maleficium Romanorum potestatem rapiens. [Translated in the text.] Catech. 15. Cap. 5. p. 211. Edit. Milles. Oxon. 1703.

'who by magical and wicked artifice shall seise the Roman 'power.' Ambrose archbishop of Milan in the same century, or Hilary the deacon, or the author (whoever he was) of the comment upon St. Paul's epistles, which passeth under the name of St. Ambrose, proposes much the same interpretation, and (4) affirms that after the failing or decay of the Roman empire, Antrichrist shall appear.

Jerome. Austin, and Chrysostome florished in the latter end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century. St. Jerome in his explanation of this passage (5) says, 'that Antichrist shall sit in the temple of God, 'either at Jerusalem (as some imagin) or in the church '(as we more truly judge) showing himself that he is 'Christ and the Son of God: and unless the Roman 'empire be first desolated, and Antichrist precede, 'Christ shall not come—*And now ye know what with-* '*holdeth that he might be revealed in his time,* that is, 'ye know very well, what is the reason why Antichrist 'doth not come at present. He is not willing to say 'openly, that the Roman empire should be destroyed, 'which they who command think fit to be eternal.—For 'if he had said openly and boldly, that Antichrist shall 'not come, unless the Roman empire be first destroyed, 'it might probably have proved the occasion of a per-'secution against the church.' Jerome was himself a witness to the barbarous nations beginning to tear in pieces the Roman empire, and upon this occasion (6)

(4) Post defectum regni Romani appariturum Antichristum, &c. [Translated in the text.] Ambros. in locum.

(5) Et in templo Dei, vel Jerosolymis (ut quidam putant) vel in ecclesia (ut verius arbitramur) sederit, ostendens se tanquam ipse sit Christus et filius Dei: Nisi, inquit, fuerit Romanum imperium ante desolatum, et Antichristus præcesserit, Christus non veniet.—*Et nunc quid detineat, scitis, ut revelctur in suo tempore;* hoc est, quæ causa sit, ut Antichristus in præsentiarum non veniat, optime nostis. Nec vult apertè dicere Romanum imperium destruendum, quod ipsi qui imperant, æternum putant.—Si enim apertè audacterque dixisset, non veniet Antichristus, nisi prius Romanum deleatur imperium, justa causa persecutionis in orientem tunc ecclesiam consurgere videbatur. [Translated in the text.] Algasiæ Quest. 11. Col. 209. Prior Pars. Tom. 4 Edit. Benedict.

(6) Qui tenebat, de medio fit, et non intelligimus Antichristum appropinquare, quem Dominus Jesus Christus interficiet spiritu oris sui. [Translated in the text.] Ad Ageruchiam de Monogamis Col. 748. Secund. Pars. Tom. 4.

exclaims 'He who is hindered is taken out of the way, 'and we do not consider that Antichrist approaches, 'whom the Lord Jesus shall consume with the spirit of 'his mouth.' St. Austin having cited this passage (7) affirms, that 'No one questions that the apostle spoke 'these things concerning Antichrist: and the day of 'judgment (for this he calleth the day of the Lord) 'should not come, unless Antichrist come first.—*And 'now ye know what withholdeth.*—Some think this was 'spoken of the Roman empire; and therefore the apostle 'was not willing to write it openly, lest he should incur 'a præmunire, and be falsely accused of wishing ill to 'the Roman empire, which was hoped to be eternal.' St. Chrysostome, in one of his homilies upon this passage, speaking of what hindered the revelation of Antichrist, (8) asserts that 'when the Roman empire shall be taken 'out of the way, then he shall come; and it is very 'likely: for as long as the dread of this empire shall re-'main, no one shall quickly be substituted; but when 'this shall be dissolved, he shall seise on the vacant em-'pire, and shall endevor to assume the power both of 'God and men.' And who hath seised on the vacant empire in Rome, and assumed the power both of God and man, let the world judge.

In this manner these ancient and venerable fathers expound this passage: and in all probability they had learned by tradition from the apostle, or from the church of the Thessalonians, that what retarded the revelation of

(7) Nulli dubium est, cum de Antichristo ista dixisse; diemque judicii (hunc enim appellat diem Domini) non esse venturum, nisi ille prior venerit—*Et nunc quid detineat scitis*—Quidam putant hoc de imperio dictum fuisse Romano; et propterea Paulum apostolum non id apertè scribere voluisse, ne calumniam videlicet incurreret, quòd Romano imperio male optaverit, cùm speraretur æternum. [Translated in the text] De civitat. Dei. Lib. 20. Cap. 19. Col. 451. Tom. 7. Edit. Benedict. Antwerp.

(8) ἡ αρχη ἡ Ρωμαϊκη ὁταν αρθη εκ μεσου, τοτε εκεινος ἡξει· και εικοτως. ἑως γαρ αν ὁ ταυτης ἡ της αρχης φοβος, εδεις ταχεως ὑποδραμειται. ὁταν δε αυτη καταλυθη, επιθησεται τη αναρχια, και την των ανθρωπων, και την του θεου επιχειρησει ἁρπασαι αρχην. quando Romanorum imperium de medio fuerit sublatum, tunc ille veniet. Et merito. Quamdiu enim fuerit metus hujus imperii nemo cito subjicietur. Quando autem hoc fuerit eversum, vacuus invadet imperium, hominumque et Dei imperium aggredietur rapere. [Translated in the text.] In locum p. 530. Tom. 11. Edict. Benedict.

Antichrist was the Roman empire, but when the Roman empire should be broken in pieces, and be no longer able to withhold him, then he should appear in the Christian church, and domineer principally in the church of Rome. Even in the opinion of a bishop of Rome, Gregory the great, who sat in the chair at the end of the sixth century, whosoever affected the title of universal bishop, he was Antichrist, or the forerunner of Antichrist. 'I speak 'it confidently, says (9) he, that whosoever calleth him-'self universal bishop, or desireth so to be called, in 'the pride of his heart he doth forerun Antichrist.' When John, then bishop of Constantinople, first usurped this title, Gregory made answer, 'By this pride of his, 'what thing else is signified, but that the time of Anti-'christ is now at hand?' Again he says upon the same occasion, 'The king of pride (that is Antichrist) ap-'proacheth; and what is wicked to be spoken, an army 'of priests is prepared.' When the papal doctrins and the papal authority prevailed over all, it was natural to think and expect, that the true notion of Antichrist would be stifled, and that the doctors of the church would endevor to give another turn and interpretation to this passage. That night of ignorance was so thick and dark, that there was hardly here and there a single star to be seen in the whole hemisphere. But no sooner was there any glimmering or dawning of a reformation, than the true notion of Antichrist, which had been so long suppressed, broke out again. As early as the year 1120 a treatise was published concerning Antichrist, wherein (1) the

(9) Ergo fidenter dico, quod quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit. Lib. 6. Epist. 30. Ex hac ejus superbiâ quid aliud, nisi propinqua jam esse Antichristi tempora designatur. Lib. 4. Epist. 34. Rex superbiæ prope est; et, quod dici nefas est, sacerdotum est præparatus exercitus. [Translated in the text.] Lib. 4. Ibid. See Jewel's Defence of the Apology. Part 4. Cap. 16. p. 413. Barrow's treatise of the Pope's Supremacy. Suppos. 5. p. 123. Edit. 1683.

(1) Anno Domini 1120—emissus est tractatus de Antichristo,—In hoc libro admonentur fideles "Antichristum illum magnum jamdudum venisse, frustra "adhunc expectari, esse jam Dei permissione ætate provectum:—Hunc ho-"minum statum (non singularem hominem) esse Antichristum, meretricem "Babylonicam, quartam bestiam Danielis, nempe in statu ejus novissimo, (ut "dictum est) hominem illum peccati, et filium perditionis, qui extollitur su-"per omnem Deum, ita ut in templo Dei, id est, ecclesia, sedeat, ostendens se

faithful are admonished, that 'the great Antichrist was 'long ago come, in vain was he still expected, he was 'now by the permission of God advanced in years;' and the author, having described the corrupt state of the church at that time, says afterwards, 'This state of men '(not a single man) is Antichrist, the whore of Babylon, 'the fourth beast of Daniel, (to wit in his last state as it 'is said) that man of sin and son of perdition, who is 'exalted above every God, so that he sitteth in the tem-'ple of God, that is, the church, showing himself that 'he is God: who is now come with all kind of seduction 'and lies in those who perish.' The Waldenses and Albigenses propagated the same opinions in the same century. That the pope was antichrist was indeed the general doctrin of the first reformers every where. Here in England it was (2) advanced by Wickliff, and was learnedly established by that great and able champion of the Reformation, Bishop Jewell, in his Apology and Defense, and more largely in his Exposition upon the two Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. This doctrin contributed not a little to promote the Reformation; and wheresoever the one prevailed, the other prevailed also.

Such doctrin as this must necessarily give great offence to the bigots and devotees of the church of Rome: and no wonder therefore that (3) in the last Lateran council the pope gave strait commandment to all preachers, that no man should presume once to speak of the coming of Antichrist. The king of France also (4) with the advice of his counsel interdicted, that any one should call the pope Antichrist: and Grotius, who was embassador

"tanquam sit Deus; qui jam venit in omni genere seductionis et mendacii "in iis qui pereunt." [Translated in the text.] Mede's Works B. 3. De numeris Danielis, p. 321, 722.

(2) Dialogorum libri 4. quorum—quartus Romanæ ecclesiæ sacramenta, Antichristi regnum, &c. perstringit. ['Four books of Dialogues, of which the fourth touches upon the sacraments of the church of Rome, and the kingdom of Antichrist.'] Cave Hist. Litt. Vol. 2. Appendix, p. 63.

(3) Conc. Lateran. sub Julio et Leone. Sess. 11. Jewel's Defence. ibid.

(4) —Prudentissimorum virorum usus consilio interdixit ne quis papam Antichristum vocet. ['Following the counsel of the most prudent men, he interdicted all from calling the pope by the name of Antichrist.'] Grot. de Antichristo in principio.

in France from the crown of Sweden, in a vain hope and expectation of reconciling the disputes and differences between papists and protestants, composed his treatise concerning Antichrist, not wickedly, but weakly; with an honest intention it may be presumed, but it is certain with pernicious effect; more like an advocate for one party, than a moderator between both. At the same time in England, though James the first had written a treatise to prove the pope Antichrist, yet this doctrin was growing unfashionable during his reign, and more so in that of his son who married a bigotted popish princess; even while Mr. Mede was living, who had exerted more learning and sagacity in explaining the prophecies, and in fixing the true idea of Antichrist, than perhaps any writer in any age. But probably for this very reason he was looked upon with an evil eye, and (to the disgrace of the times) obtained no preferment, tho' he was eminently deserving of the best and greatest. He says himself in one of his letters (Epist. 36.) that his notions about genuflexion towards the altar "would have made "another man a dean, or a prebend, or something else "ere this: but the point of the pope's being Antichrist, "as a dead fly, marred the savor of that ointment." The abuse also that some fanatics made of this doctrin greatly prejudiced the world against it. It was esteemed a mark of a puritan, and was a certain obstacle to preferment, for any man to preach that the pope was Antichrist: and Dr. Montague, a famous court-chaplain at that time, who endevored also to prove that the power of the king was absolute, (5) endevored also to prove that the notes and characters of Antichrist belonged to the Turk rather than to the Pope: and herein he was followed by several divines, and by no less a man than Bishop Fell, if he was the compiler or approver, (as he is commonly said to have been) of (6) the Paraphrase and Annotations upon all St. Paul's Epistles. There are fashions in divinity as well as in every thing else: and therefore the true doc-

(5) See his book intitled Appello Cæsarem. Part 2. Chap. 5.

(6) Printed at the Theatre in Oxford 1684, and said to be published under the direction of Bishop Fell.

trin of Antichrist was for some time suspended, and false hypotheses were invented; and it may surprise any one, that so little was said upon this subject in the long controversies concerning popery during the reigns of Charles and James the second. It is hoped that the truth is now emerging again. Some laudable (7) attempts have lately been made to revive and restore it: and if I have not proved that this interpretation is preferable to all others, I have taken pains and proved nothing.

But it hath been proved, as I conceive, that this is the genuin sense and meaning of the apostle, that this only is entirely consistent with the context, that every other interpretation is forced and unnatural, that this is liable to no material objection, that it coincides perfectly with Daniel, that it is agreeable to the tradition of the primitive church, and that it hath been exactly fulfilled in all particulars, which cannot be said of any other interpretation whatsoever. Such a prophecy as this is at once an illustrious proof of divine revelation, and an excellent antidote to the poison of popery. It is like a two edged sword, that will cut both ways, and wound the deist with one side, and the papist with the other. The papists are in some respect like the Jews. As the Jews believe not that Christ is come according to the prophecies, but still live in expectation of him: so neither do the papists perceive that Antichrist is come according to the prophecies, but still maintain that he shall arise hereafter. The apostle not only foretels this blindness and infatuation, but likewise assigns the reason, *because they received not the love of the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.* But to the protestants, who believe and profess that both the Christ and Antichrist are come, we may say with the apostle (ver. 13. 14.) *We are bound to give thanks alway to God, for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, because God hath chosen you to salvation, thro' sanctification of the spirit, and belief of the truth: Whereunto he called you by the gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

(7) Mr. Langford's Notes and Characters of the Man of Sin. Printed in 1746. Dr. Benson's Dissertation concerning the Man of Sin, &c. &c.

The apostle proceeds (ver. 15.) *Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle:* and certainly there is not any oral tradition that hath a juster claim to be thought apostolical, than this of *the man of sin's* succeeding upon the decline of the Roman empire, and exalting himself over all. Wherefore to conclude, as the apostle concludes the subject, (ver. 16, 17.) *Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God even our Father, who hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation, and good hope, through grace, Comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good word and work.*

XXIII.

ST. PAUL'S PROPHECY OF THE APOSTASY OF THE LATTER TIMES.

ST. Paul was a man of lively thought and strong imagination. None of the apostles had a warmer zeal for Christ and the Christian religion. He was, as he saith himself, (2 Cor. xi. 23, 28, 29.) *in labors more abundant,* he had *the care of all the churches; Who is weak,* saith he, *and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?* It was natural for such a mind to be deeply affected with the foresight of the great apostasy of Christians from the true Christian faith and worship, and to lament it, and to forewarn his disciples of it, as often as there was occasion. He made this apostasy one topic of his discourse to the Thessalonians, while he was yet with them: and afterwards in his second Epistle to them, he gave them to understand that *the day of Christ was not at hand,* as they apprehended; *for there should come the apostasy first;* implying that it should be both extensive and of long duration. He mentions this apostasy again

in his first Epistle to Timothy, and describes more particularly wherein it should consist, and at what time, and by what means it should be propagated and advanced in the world, (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3.) *Now the Spirit speaketh expresly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrins of devils. Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron; Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth.* The passage perhaps may better be translated thus, *But the Spirit speaketh expresly;* He had been speaking before of *the mystery of godliness,* and now he proceeds to speak of *the mystery of iniquity* in opposition to it, *But the Spirit speaketh expresly, that in the latter times some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to erroneous spirits and doctrins concerning demons, Through the hypocrisy of liers, having their consciences seared with a hot iron, Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by the believers and them who know the truth.* This translation will be justified by the following considerations, wherein it is proposed to show the true interpretation and exact completion of this prophecy. But this subject hath been so fully and learnedly discussed by the excellent (1) Mr. Mede, that we must be greatly obliged to him in the course of this dissertation. The dress and clothing may be somewhat different, but the body and substance must be much the same: and they must be referred to his works, who are desirous of obtaining farther satisfaction. Not that we would make a transcript only of any writer; we should hope to enforce and improve the subject by some new arguments and new illustrations; as *every scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven* (Matt. xiii. 52.) *is like unto a man that is an housholder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new* as well as *old.*

I. The first thing to be considered is the apostasy here

(1) See Mede's Works, B. 3. p. 623—693. See likewise Mons. Jurieu's Accomplishment of the Prophecies. Part 1. Chap. 18, 19, 20. 21.

predicted, *Some shall depart* or rather *shall apostatize from the faith.* The apostle had predicted the same thing before to the Thessalonians, *The day of Christ shall not come, except there come a falling away* or rather the *apostasy first.* In the original the words are of the same import and derivation, αποστασια and αποστησονται, and they should have been translated both alike, as the same thing was intended in both places. An *apostasy from the faith* may be total or partial, either when we renounce the whole, or when we deny some principal and essential article of it. The writers of the New Testament frequently derive their language as well as their ideas from the Old: and by considering what was accounted apostasy under the Mosaical œconomy, we may form the better notion of what it is under the Christian dispensation. It doth not appear that the Jews or Israelites ever totally renounced and abandoned the living and true God; he never ceased altogether to be their God, or they to be his people: but they revolted from their allegiance to God, when they worshipped him in an image, as in the golden calves, which was the sin and apostasy of Jeroboam; and when they worshipped other gods besides him, as Baalim and the host of heaven, which was the sin and apostasy of Ahab and Manasseh: and for the same reason the idolatry of Ahaz is by the Greek interpreters called (2 Chron. xxix. 19.) αποστασια αυτου *his apostasy,* and it is said of him (xxviii. 19.) that απεστη αποστασει απο του Κυριου *he apostatized greatly from the Lord.* Apostasy therefore was idolatry in the Jewish Church, and it is the same in the Christian. This argument may receive some illustration from a (2) similar passage in St. Peter (2 Pet. ii. 1.) *There were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them.* As there were false prophets among the children of Israel, who seduced them to idolatry and the worshipping of other Gods besides the true God; so there shall be false teachers among Christians, who by plausible pretences

(2) See Mede's Discourse XLIII. upon this text, p. 238, &c.

and imperceptible degrees shall bring in the like damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, professing themselves to be his servants bought with a price, and yet denying him to be their lord and master by applying to other lords and mediators. It is not any error, or every heresy, that is apostasy from the faith. It is a revolt in the principal and essential article, when we worship God by any image or representation, or when we worship other beings besides God, and pray unto other mediators besides *the one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.* This is the very essence of Christian worship, to worship the one true God thro' the one true Christ; and to worship any other God or any other mediator, is apostasy and rebellion against God and against Christ. It is, as St. Paul saith, (Col. ii. 19.) *not holding the head,* but depending upon other heads: it is, as St. Peter expresseth it, *denying the Lord that bought us,* and serving other lords: and the denial of such an essential part may as properly be called *apostasy,* as if we were to renounce the whole Christian faith and worship. It is renouncing them in effect, and not treating and regarding God as God, or Christ as Christ.

Such is the nature of *apostasy from the faith;* and it is implied that this apostasy should be general, and infect great numbers. For though it is said only *Some shall apostatize,* yet by *some* in this place *many* are understood. The word *some* may usually denote *few* in English; but in the learned languages it frequently signifies a multitude, and there are abundant instances in scripture. In St. John's Gospel it is said (vi. 66.) that *Many of Jesus his disciples, when they had heard this, said, This is an hard saying, who can bear it?* and again a little afterwards (ver. 66.) *Many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him:* but Jesus himself speaking of these *many* saith (ver. 64.) *There are some of you that believe not;* so that *some* are plainly the same as *many.* St. Paul speaking of the infidelity and rejection of the Jews saith, (Rom. xi. 17.) that *some of the branches are broken off:* but those *some,* it is evident, were the

main body of the nation. The same apostle informs the Corinthians, (1 Cor. x. 5, 6.) that *With many of the Israelites God was not well pleased; for they were overthrown in the wilderness:* and their punishments were intended for examples to Christians. Wherefore he concludes (ver. 7.) *Neither be ye idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play:* where *some* are manifestly the same as *the people.* Again (ver. 8.) *Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty thousand:* where *some* are equivalent to *many thousands.* Again (ver. 9) *Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents:* where *some* are the same with *much people;* for we read (Numb. xxi. 6.) that *the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people; and they bit the people, and much people of Israel died.* And again (ver. 10.) *Neither murmur ye, as some of them also murmured, and were destroyed of the destroyer:* where *some* are the same with *all the congregation* except Joshua and Caleb; for we read (Num. xiv. 1, 2.) that *All the congregation lifted up their voice, and cried; and the people wept that night: And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses, and against Aaron; and the whole congregation said unto them, Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt, or would God we had died in this wilderness:* and they had their wish, for except Joshua and Caleb, they all died in the wilderness. *Some* therefore may signify *many,* but *not all;* as the apostle speaketh elsewhere, (Heb. iii. 16.) *For some when they had heard, did provoke; howbeit not all that came out of Egypt by Moses.* The apostle might have the same meaning in this place; and this apostasy may be general and extensive, and include *many* but *not all.* If only some few persons were to be concerned and engaged in it, it was scarcely an object worthy of prophecy: nor could that properly be pointed out as a peculiarity of *the latter times,* which is common to all times, for in all times there are some apostates or other. It must necessarily be a great apostasy; and it is called, as it hath been shown, *the apostasy* by way of eminence

and distinction; but it would hardly have been distinguished in this emphatical manner, if only an inconsiderable number were to profess and embrace it. Other prophecies likewise intimate, that there should be a great and general corruption and apostasy in the Christian church; and the event will also confirm us in our opinion. For we have seen and still see a great part of Christendom guilty of the same sort of apostasy and defection as the Israelites were in former times. As the Israelites worshipped God in the golden calf and golden calves; for (Exod. xxxii. 5.) they proclaimed *a feast to the Lord,* and said (ver. 4. and 1 Kings xii. 28.) *Behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt:* so there are Christians who worship their Creator and Redeemer in an image, or in a crucifix, or in the sacramental bread. As the Israelites worshipped Baalim or departed heroes, and as the Psalmist saith (Psal. cvi. 28.) *ate the sacrifices of the dead:* so there are Christians who worship departed saints, and institute fasts and festivals, and offer up prayers and praises unto them. And as this apostasy overspread the church of Israel for many ages, so it hath for many ages too overspread the church of Christ. The apostasy therefore is the very same in both churches. The apostle foresaw and foretold it; and upon the mention of Israel's provocation, very properly admonished the Christians to beware of the like infidelity and apostasy, (Heb. iii. 12.) *Take heed, Brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in departing,* εν τω αποστηναι, *in apostatizing from the living God.*

II. It is more particularly shown, wherein this apostasy should consist, in the following words, *giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrins of devils,* or rather *giving heed to erroneous spirits and doctrins concerning demons.* For I conceive not the meaning to be, that this apostasy should proceed from the suggestion of evil spirits and instigation of devils. That would be no peculiar mark of distinction; that might be said of any wickedness in general, as well as of this in particular. The means too by which this apostasy should be propagated, and the

persons who should propagate it, are described afterwards; so that this part is to be understood rather of things than of persons, rather of the matter wherein this apostasy should consist, than of the first teachers and authors of it. *Spirits* seem to be much the same in sense as *doctrins*, as Mr. Mede and other divines have observed the same word to be used also by St. John. (1 John iv. 1.) *Beloved, believe not every spirit,* that is every doctrin, *but try the spirits,* that is the doctrins, *whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.* *Spirits* and *doctrins* therefore may be considered, the latter word as explanatory of the former: and *error* sometimes signifying (3) *idolatry, erroneous doctrins* may comprehend *idolatrous,* as well as *false* doctrins. But it is still farther added for explanation. that these doctrins should be *doctrins of devils* or *of demons;* where the genitive case is not to be taken actively, as if demons were the authors of these doctrins, but passively, as if demons were the subject of these doctrins. Thus *a doctrin of vanities* (διδασκαλια ματαιων Jer. x. 8.) is a doctrin concerning vanities or idols. *The doctrin of the Lord* (διδαχη τȣ Κυριȣ, Acts xiii. 12.) is the doctrin concerning him: *Then the deputy when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the doctrin of the Lord. The doctrins of baptisms* (διδαχαι βαπτισμων Heb. vi. 2.) *and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment,* are doctrins relating to all these particulars. And by the same construction διδασκαλιαι δαιμονιων, *doctrins of demons,* are doctrins about and concerning demons. This is therefore a prophecy that the idolatrous theology of demons professed by the Gentiles should be revived among Christians. Christians should in process of time degenerate, and resemble the Gentiles as well as the apostate Jews. They should not only *apostatize* after the

(3) טעותא et טעות i. e. πλανη, Chaldæis et Targumistis est *idolum:* et טעא πλαναϲθαι est *idola colere* et *scortari.* ['טעותא and טעות i. e. πλανη *an error,* are made use of by the Chaldeans and Targumists to signify *an idol;* and טעא πλαναϲθαι *to err,* is *to worship idols,* or *to commit fornication.*'] Rom. i. 27. 2 Thess. ii. 2 Pet. ii. 18. Mede, p. 626.

manner of the Jews, but should also *worship demons* after the manner of the Gentiles.

Demons, according to the theology of the Gentiles, were middle powers between the sovran Gods and mortal men. So saith Plato, the most competent judge and the most consummate writer in these subjects; (4) 'Every 'demon is a middle being between God and mortal man.' These demons were regarded as mediators and agents between the Gods and men. So saith Plato again, (5) 'God is not approached by man, but all the commerce 'and intercourse between Gods and men is by the me- 'diation of demons. The demons, saith he, are interpre- 'ters and conveyers from men to the Gods, and from the 'Gods to men, of the supplications and sacrifices on the 'one part, and of the commands and rewards of sacrifices 'on the other.' Apuleius, a later philosopher, giveth (6) the like description. 'Demons are middle powers, 'by whom both our desires and deserts pass unto the 'Gods; they are carriers between man on earth and the 'Gods in heaven; hence of prayers, thence of gifts; they 'convey too and fro, hence petitions, thence supplies; or 'they are interpreters on both sides, and bearers of salu- 'tations; for it would not be, saith he, for the majesty of 'the celestial Gods, to take care of these things.' The whole is summed up by the said Apuleius (7) in few words.

(4) Και γαρ παν το δαιμονιον μεταξυ εστι θεοτε και θνητου. Omnis enim dæmonum natura inter deum et mortale est intermedia. [Translated in the text.] Platonis Sympos. p. 202. Tom. 3. Edit. Serrani.

(5) Θεῳ δε ανθρωπῳ ου μιγνυται, αλλα δια τουτου παντα εστιν ἡ ὁμιλια και ἡ διαλεκτος θεοις προς ανθρωπους. Deus autem cum homine non miscetur, sed per hanc dæmonum naturam commercium omne atque colloquium inter deos hominesque conficitur. Ἑρμηνευον και διαποριθμευον θεοις τα παρ' ανθρωπων, και ανθρωποις τα παρα θεων, των μεν τας δεησεις και θυσιας, των δε τας επιταξεις τε και αμοιβας των θυσιων. Interpretis et portitoris quasi munere fungitur, ut res humanas ad deos, divinas ad homines transmittat: horum quidem preces et sacrificia, illorum vero præcepta et sacrificiorum remunerationes. [Translated in the text.] Ibid. p. 202, 203.

(6) Mediæ potestates, per quas et desideria nostra et merita ad deos commeant, inter terricolas cœlicolasque vectores, hinc precum, inde donorum, qui ultro citroque portant hinc petitiones, inde suppetias, seu quidem utrinque interpretes et salutigeri.—Neque enim pro majestate deûm cœlestium fuerit, hæc curare. [Translated in the text.] Apuleius de Deo Socratis, p. 674, 677. Edit. Delph.

(7) Cuncta cœlestium voluntate, numine, et authoritate, sed dæmonum obsequio, et opera, et ministerio fieri arbitrandum est. [Translated in the text.] Ibid. p. 675.

'All things are done by the will, power, and authority 'of the celestial Gods, but by the obedience, service, 'and ministry of the demons.' Of these demons there were accounted two kinds. One kind of demons were the souls of men deified or canonized after death. So Hesiod, one of the most ancient heathen writers, if not the most ancient, describing that happy race of men, who lived in the first and golden age of the world, (8) saith that, 'after this generation were dead, they 'were by the will of great Jupiter promoted to be de- 'mons, keepers of mortal men, observers of their good 'and evil works, givers of riches, &c.; and this, saith 'he, is the royal honor that they enjoy.' Plato concurs with Hesiod, and (9) asserts that 'he and many other 'poets speak excellently, who affirm that when good 'men die, they attain great honor and dignity, and be- 'come demons.' The same Plato in another place (1)

(8) Αυταρ επει μεν τουτο γενος κατα γαια καλυψε,
Τοι μεν δαιμονες εισι, Διος μεγαλου δια βουλας,
Εσθλοι, επιχθονιοι, [αλεξικακοι] φυλακες θνητων ανθρωπων.
Οι ρα φυλασσουσι τε δικας και σχετλια εργα,
Ηερα εσσαμενοι, παντη φοιτωντες επ' αιαν,
Πλουτοδοται· και τουτο γερας βασιληϊον εσχον.
Verum postquam hoc genus terra abscondit,
Ii quidem divi facti sunt, Jovis magni consilio,
Boni, in terris versantes, custodes mortalium hominum:
Qui quidem observant judicia et prava opera,
Calagine amicti, passim euntes per terram,
Opum datores: atque hoc munus regale consecuti sunt. [Translated in the text.] Hesiod. Op. et Dier. Lib. I. 120.

(9) λεγει ου καλως και ετερος και αλλοι ποιηται πολλοι, οσοι λεγουσιν, ως επειδαν τις αγαθος ων τελευτεση, μεγαλην μοιραν και τιμην εχει, και γενεσθαι δαιμονα. Præclare igitur et hic et alii poetæ, quicunque affirmant eum qui bonus sit, ubi mortuus fuerit, magnæ cujusdam sortis consequi dignitatem, et δαιμονα esse. [Translated in the text.] Platonis Cratylus, p. 398. Tom. 1. Edit. Serrani.

(1) Των δε δη αποθανοντων επι γερατειας, ος αν ευδοκιμησας τελευτηση, αρ' ου πρωτον μεν φησομεν του χρυσου γενους ειναι; Παντων γε μαλιστα. Αλλ' ου πεισομεθα Ησιοδῳ; επειδαν τινες του τοιουτου γενους τελευτησωσιν, ως αρα

Οι μεν δαιμονες——

και τον λοιπον δε χρονον, ως δαιμονων, ουτω θεραπευσομεν τε και προσκυνησομεν αυτων τας θηκας. ταυτα δε ταυτη νομιουμεν οταν τις γερα η τινι αλλῳ τροπῳ τελευτηση των οσοι αν διαφεροντως εν τῳ βιῳ αγαθοι κριθωσι. Eum vero qui re præclarè gesta in bello occubuerit, nonne dicemus ad genus aureum pertinere? Maxime omnium. Nonne Hesiodi sententiam sequemur? quod videlicet illi homines, qui ex aureo illo fuerint genere, ubi primùm fato concesserint,

Dæmones existant,——

maintains, that all those who die valiantly in war are of Hesiod's golden generation, and are made demons; and we ought for ever afterwards to serve and adore their sepulchres, as the sepulchres of demons. The same also we decree, whenever any of those who were judged excellently good in life, die either of old age, or in any other manner.' The other kind of demons were such as had never been the souls of men, nor ever dwelt in mortal bodies. Thus Apuleius (2) informs us, 'There is another and higher kind of demons, who were always free from the incumbrances of the body; and out of this higher order Plato supposeth that guardians were appointed unto them.' Ammonius likewise in Plutarch (3) reckons two kind of demons, 'souls separated from bodies, or such as had never inhabited bodies at all.' These latter demons may be paralleled with angels, as the former may with canonized saints: and as we Christians believe that there are good and evil angels, so did the Gentiles that there were good and evil demons. According to Plutarch (4) 'it was a very ancient opinion, that there are certain wicked and malignant demons who envy good men, and endevor to hinder them in the pursuit of virtue, lest they

Reliquum autem tempus eorum sepulcra veluti dæmonum colemus, et divinis honoribus prosequemur. Eadem quoque sanciemus atque exhibebemus iis, qui quum singularis cujusdam probitatis dignitate excelluerint, vel senio vel alio quopiam modo e vita excesserint. [Translated in the text.] Plato de Repub. Lib. 5. p. 468. Tom. 2. Edit. Serrani.

(2) Superius aliud augustiusque dæmonum genus, qui semper a corporis compedibus et nexibus liberi—Ex hac sublimiori dæmonum copia autumat Plato singulis hominibus in vita agenda testes et custodes singulos additos. [Translated in the text.] Apuleius de Deo Socratis. p. 690.

(3) αἱ διακριθεισαι σωματος ἢ μη μετασχησαι το παραπαν ψυχαι. animi secreti a corporibus, aut omnino quibus nullum est cum corporibus commercium. [Translated in the text.] Plut. de Defect. Orac. p. 431. Tom. 2. Edit. Paris. 1624.

(4) των πανυ παλαιων—λογον, ὡς τα φαυλα δαιμονια και βασκανα, προσφθονουντα τοις αγαθοις ανδρασιν, και ταις πραξεσιν ανιγαμενα, ταραχας και φοβους επαγει, σειοντα και σφαλλοντα την αρετην, ὡς μη διαμειναντες απτωτες εν τῳ καλῳ και ακεραιοι, βελτιονος εκεινων μοιρας μετα την τελευτην τυχωσιν. ex veteribus opinionibus—mala dæmonia et invida esse bonis viris æmulantia, quæ, quo obstrepant illorum actionibus, commotiones iis et pavores invehant, hisque concutiant et impellant virtutem, ne erecti et integri in virtute permanentes, potiorem quam ipsi consequantur a fatis sortem. [Translated in the text.] Plut. Dion. in initio. p 958. Tom. 1. Edit. Paris. 1624.

'should be partakers at last of greater happiness than 'they enjoy.' This was the opinion of all the later philosophers, and Plutarch undeniably affirms it of the very ancient ones.

But here it is objected, that though this might be the notion of the Gentiles concerning demons, yet the scripture-account of them is very different: for in the scripture, as St. Austin (5) observes, we never read of good demons; but wheresoever in those writings the name of demon occurs, none but evil spirits are meant: and it must be confessed and allowed, that this is the most usual signification of the word; but some instances may be alleged to the contrary. When St. Paul was at Athens, and preached the gospel in that city, *certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics encountered him* (Acts xvii. 18.) and charged him with being a *setter forth of strange gods* ξενων δαιμονιων *of strange demons, because he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection.* Here *demons* cannot possibly signify *devils,* but must necessarily refer to Jesus, who according to Paul's preaching (ver. 31.) was *raised from the dead,* and appointed to be the lord and judge of the world. At the same time the apostle retorts the charge upon the Athenians (ver. 22.) *Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious,* δεισιδαιμονεστερους, *too much addicted to the worship of demons;* and they worshipped demons or dead men deified in abundance: but he declared unto them (ver. 24.) *God who made the world, and all things therein.* St. Paul in his first Epistle thus exhorts the Corinthians (1 Cor. x. 14, 20, 21.) *Flee from idolatry. The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils,* δαιμονιοις, *to demons, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils,* δαιμονιοις, *demons. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils,* δαιμονιων, *of demons; ye cannot be partakers*

(5) —nunquam vero bonos dæmones legimus: sed ubicunque illarum literarum hoc nomen positum reperitur, sive dæmones, sive dæmonia dicantur, non nisi maligni significantur spiritus. [Translated in the text.] Augustin. de Civitat. Dei. Lib. 6. Cap. 19. Col. 178. Tom. 7. Edit. Benedict. Antwerp.

of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils, δαιμονιων, *of demons.* The apostle is here showing the great inconsistency of the Christian worship with the idolatrous worship performed by the Heathens. The Heathens worshipped Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, and numberless other beings, who were reputed demons, but who were properly deceased men and women deified. Corinth in particular (6) was much devoted to the worship of Venus; there she had a most magnificent temple and service; and the city was called the city of Venus. The apostle therefore declares that all such worship is utterly inconsistent with the true worship of Christ. For that would be acknowleging him for their only lord, and at the same time acknowleging other lords. And (ver. 22.) *do we provoke the Lord to jealousy: are we stronger than he?* These passages, together with the text that we are considering, are, I think, all the places in St. Paul's discourses or epistles, where the word *demon* occurs; and as he was of all the apostles the most learned in the philosophy and theology of the Gentiles, and as he was speaking and writing to Gentiles, that might be the reason of his adopting the same notion of demons. He had plainly alluded to this notion a little before in the same Epistle to the Corinthians, (1 Cor. viii. 4, 5, 6.) and the passage cannot be so well understood without it. *There is none other God but one. For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth;* whether *Dei cœlestes, celestial Gods,* as they are usually denominated, or δαιμονες επιχθονιοι, *earthly demons,* as they are named by Hesiod, mediators and agents between heaven and earth: *as there be gods many and lords many;* as the Gentiles acknowledge a plurality of such superior and inferior deities; *But to us* Christians *there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him,* εις αυτον, *we to him* are to direct all our services; *and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him,* δι' αυτε, *we by* or *through him* alone have access unto the

(6) Strabo. Lib. 8. et Euripides apud Strabonem. p 378, 379. Edit. Paris. 1620. p. 581, 582. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

Father. They have a multitude of gods and lords, but we have only one of each sort. It is the same doctrin that he inculcates likewise in his first Epistle to Timothy, (ii. 5.) *For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.* As St. Paul here foretels that Christians in the latter times should attend to *doctrins concerning demons,* so St. John also foretels (Rev. ix. 20.) that notwithstanding the plagues of the Arabian locusts and of the Euphratean horsemen, *yet they should not repent of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils,* δαιμονια, *demons,* where the word is plainly used in the same sense as by St. Paul: for Christians never actually worshipped *devils,* but they worshipped *demons,* deceased men and women and angels, *and idols of gold and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk;* and they still continue to worship them, notwithstanding the grievous calamities inflicted on the Christian church by the Saracens first, and by the Turks afterwards, as we shall see in the proper place.

There is a passage in Epiphanius, which will very much illustrate and confirm our explanation of St. Paul. That father, who was very zealous against the worship of saints and images, which was then springing up in the church, loudly complains of some Arabian Christians, who made a goddess of the blessed virgin, and offered a cake to her as to the queen of heaven. He condemns their heresy as impious and abominable, and (7) declares that 'upon 'these also is fulfilled that of the apostle, *Some shall apos-* '*tatize from the sound doctrins, giving heed to fables* '*and doctrins of demons; for they shall be,* saith the 'apostle, *worshippers of the dead, as in Israel also they* '*were worshipped,*' meaning the Baalim and Ashtaroth who were worshipped by the children of Israel. It is

(7) πληρεται γαρ και επι τουτους το, αποστησονται τινες της υγιους διδασκαλιας, προσεχοντες μυθοις και διδασκαλιαις δαιμονιων. εσονται γαρ, φησι, νεκροις λατρευοντες, ως και εν τω Ισραηλ εσεβασθησαν. Hoc enim in ipsis impletur; Deficient quidam a sana doctrina, intendentes fabulis, et doctrinis dæmoniorum: erunt enim, inquit mortuos colentes, quemadmodum apud Israelitas honore sunt affecti. [Translated in the text.] Epiphan. advers Hær. 78. p. 1055. Tom. 1. Edit. Petav.

observable that he explains, as well as recites the words of the apostle. He expounds *the faith* by *the sound doctrin*, *erroneous spirits* by *fables*, and *doctrins of demons* by *worshipping of the dead*; and to show more particularly what he meant, he subjoins two examples more of such worship; one of the Sichemites, who had a goddess under the title of Jephtha's daughter; and the other of the Egyptians; who worshipped Thermutis, that daughter of Pharaoh, who was at the charge of educating Moses. Now whether this latter clause, *For they shall be worshippers of the dead, as in Israel also they were worshipped*, be genuin or not, it may serve our purpose in some measure either way. If it was the original text of St. Paul, as (8) Beza and more particularly Mr. Mann contend, then the point that we have been proving is established beyond all possible contradiction. If it was only a marginal reading added by way of explication, as (9) Mr. Mede and Dr. Mill suppose, it still evinces that Epiphanius, and some before his time, understood the passage in the same manner that we have explained it. The apostle delivers the prophecy as a *plain* and *express* one; and it cannot be denied, that the passage is much improved, and the sense is made much clearer by this addition. Epiphanius too recites this addition, as the very words of the apostle; and a man of his character for probity and piety would not be guilty of forging such a testimony. If it be not quoted by other fathers, nor appear in other copies, it is probable that the fathers, who began this worship very early, would not be forward to produce a text to their own conviction and confusion; and it is possible that when this worship prevailed almost universally, a text which so plainly condemned it, might be wholly omitted; as in later times, for the same reason, we have seen (1) in some catechisms and manuals of devotion, the se-

(8) Beza in locum. Mr. Mann's Critical Notes on some passages of Scripture. p. 92—103.

(9) Mede's Works. p. 637. Mill. in locum.

(1) Bishop Stillingfleet in *his Doctrins and Practices of the Church of Rome*, in answer to the author of *A Papist misrepresented and represented*, treating of the second commandment, says, "The dispute about this is not Whether the "second commandment may be found in any of their books, but by what au-

cond left out of the ten commandments, and the tenth divided into two to make up the number. It ought not indeed to be concealed, that Clemens Alexandrinus, a celebrated father and writer of the second century, hath (2) cited this passage of St. Paul, just as it appears in our present copies, which is a considerable argument in support of the common reading. But possibly the same persons who left the words in question out of St. Paul, might also leave them out of Clemens Alexandrinus; and they might have struck them out of Epiphanius too, if they had been equally aware of them, or if the thing had been equally practicable, and the context would have suffered it without the palpable discovery of the fraud. Upon the whole it may be concluded concerning this passage in Epiphanius, that if it does not exhibit the genuin reading, yet at least it establisheth the genuin sense and meaning of the text of St. Paul.

It appears then that *the doctrins of demons*, which prevailed so long in the Heathen world, should be revived and established in the Christian church: and is not the worship of saints and angels now in all respects the same that the worship of demons was in former times? The name only is different, the thing is identically the same. The Heathens, as we see, looked upon their demons as mediators and intercessors between God and men: and are not the saints and angels regarded in the same light

" thority it comes to be left out in any; as he confesses it is in their short ca-
" techisms and manuals: but not only in these, for I have now before me the
" Reformed Office of the Blessed Virgin, printed at Salamanca, A. D. 1588,
" published by order of Pius V. where it is so left out; and so in the English
" Office at Antwerp, A. D. 1658. I wish he had told us in what public Office
" of their church it is to be found." Stillingfleet's Works. Vol. 6. p. 572. See also Adrichomii Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ, p. 212 et 300. where the ten commandments are thus ranged and divided; 1. Se Deum unum colant, idolis rejectis. 2. Suum nomen in vanum ne assumant. 3. Sabbata significent. 4. Parentes honorent. 5. Non occidant. 6. Non mœchentur. 7. Non furentur. 8. Falsè ne testentur. 9. Non concupiscant proximi uxorem. 10. Non rem ejus quamcunque. [' 1. That they should worship one God, rejecting idols. 2. That they should not take his name in vain. 3. That they should sanctify the sabbath. 4. That they should honour their parents. 5. That they should not kill. 6. That they should not commit adultery. 7. That they should not steal. 8. That they should not bear false witness. 9. That they should not covet their neighbour's wife. 10. Nor any thing that belonged to him.']

(2) Clem. Alex. Stromat. Lib. 3. p. 550. Edit. Potter.

by many professed Christians? Some tendency to the worshipping of angels was observed even in the apostle's time, insomuch that he thought proper to give this caution to the Colossians, (ii. 18.) *Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels:* and this admonition, we may suppose, checked and suppressed this worship for some generations. The worshipping of the dead was not introduced so early into the church; it was advanced by slower degrees; and what was at first nothing more than a pious and decent respect to the memory of saints and martyrs, degenerated at last into an impious and idolatrous adoration. At first (3) annual festivals were instituted to their honor: the next step was praying in the cœmeteries at their sepulchres; then their bodies were translated into churches; then a power of working miracles was attributed to their dead bodies, bones, and other relics; then their wonder-working relics were conveyed from place to place, and distributed among the other churches; then they were invocated and adored for performing such miracles, for assisting men in their devotions, and interceding for them with God; and not only the churches, but even the fields and highways were filled with altars for invoking them.

As early as the time of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, we find Eusebius, one of the best and most learned of the fathers, quoting and approving Hesiod's and Plato's notions before-mentioned concerning demons, and then (4) adding 'These things are befitting 'upon the decease of the favorites of God, whom you 'may properly call the champions of the true religion: 'Whence it is our custom to assemble at their sepul-

(3) See these particulars historically deduced in Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel. Chap. 14. p. 203—231.

(4) Και ταυτα δε αρμοζει επι τη των θεοφιλων τελευτη, ους γραπτως της αληθους ευσεβειας ουκ αν αμαρτοις ειπων, παραλαμβανεσθαι. οθεν και επι τας θηκας αυτων εθος ημιν παρειναι, και τας ευχας παρα ταυταις ποιεισθαι, τιμαντες τας μακαριας αυτων ψυχας. Quæ quidem in hominum Deo carissimorum obitus egregie conveniunt, quos veræ pietatis milites jure appellaris. Nam et eorum sepulcra celebrare, et preces ibi votaque nuncupare, et beatas illorum animas venerari consuevimus. [Translated in the text.] Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 13. Cap. 11. p. 663. Edit. Vigeri.

'chres, and to make our prayers at them, and to honor 'their blessed souls.' Here Eusebius compares the saints and martyrs with the demons of the Gentiles, and esteems them worthy of the same honor. The famous Antony, who was one of the great founders of monkery, gave it in charge (5) to the monks with his dying breath, 'To 'take care and adhere to Christ in the first place, and 'then to the saints, that after death they may receive you 'as friends and acquaintance into the everlasting taber-'nacles.' His advice was but too well followed; and the emperor Julian (6) reproacheth the Christians for adding many new dead men to that ancient dead man, Jesus. All the fathers almost of the fourth and fifth centuries contributed too much to the support and propagation of this superstition: and Theodoret in particular, having cited the same passages of Hesiod and Plato, (7) reasons thus, 'If then the poet hath called good men, 'after their decease, the deliverers and guardians of mor-'tal men; and the best of philosophers hath confirmed 'the poet's saying, and asserted that we ought to serve 'and adore their sepulchres; why I beseech you Sirs '(speaking to the Greeks) do you blame these things

(5) σπȣδασαλε δε μαλλον και ὑμεις αει συναπλειν ἑαυλȣς, προηγȣμενως μεν τῳ κυριῳ, επειλα δε τοις αγιοις· ἱνα μελα θανατον ὑμας εις τας αιωνιȣς σκηνας, ὡς φιλȣς και γνωριμȣς, δεξωνται και αυλοι. Id curate ut in primis vos Domino, dehinc Sanctis adjungatis: ut post mortem vos in æterna tabernacula, quasi amicos notosque sibi recipiant. [Translated in the text.] Vita Antonii. Cap. 91. p. 863. Athanasii Oper. Tom. I. Par. 2. Edit. Benedict.

(6) —πολλȣς επεισαγοντες τῳ παλαι νεκρῳ τȣς προσφαλȣς νεκρȣς—additis ad priscum illum mortuum novis mortuis. ['Adding many new dead men to that ancient dead man.'] Julian. apud Cyril. Lib. 10. p. 335. Edit. Spanhemii.

(7) Ει τοινυν και ὁ ποιητης και εσθλȣς και αλεξικακȣς και φυλακας θνητων ανθρωπων, τȣς αριστα βεβιωκοτας, ειλα τελευτησαντας, προσηγορευσεν· εκραλυνε δε τονδε τον λογον των φιλοσοφων ὁ αριστος, και χρηναι εφη και θεραπευειν τȣλων και προσκυνειν τας θηκας· τι δηλα μεμφεσθε τοις παρ' ἡμων γιγνομενοις, ω βελτιστοι; τȣς γαρ εν ευσεβειᾳ λαμψαντας, και ὑπερ ταυτης την σφαγην δεξαμενȣς, αλεξικακȣς ἡμεις και ιαλρȣς ονομαζομεν. ου δαιμονας καλȣντες· μη οὑτω λυλτησαιμεν· αλλα θεȣ φιλȣς και ευνȣς θεραποντας. Quod si poeta, et bonos, et malorum depulsores, et custodes mortalium vocavit eos, qui optime vixerunt, deinde mortui sunt: ejusque sententiam philosophorum præstantissimus confirmavit, atque horum sepulcra colenda et adoranda censuit; quæ a nobis fiunt, optimi viri, cur damnatis? Nos enim pari modo, eos qui pietate claruerunt, proque ea cæsi sunt, malorum depulsores, et medicos nominamus, dæmonas non appellamus, (absit a nobis hic furor) sed Dei amicos servosque benevolos. [Translated in the text.] Theod. Serm. 8. De Martyribus. p. 662. Tom. 4. Edit. Paris. 1642.

'which are done by us: for such as were illustrious for 'piety, and for the sake thereof received martyrdom, 'we also name deliverers and physicians, not calling 'them demons, (let us not be so desperately mad) but 'the friends and sincere servants of God.' Here Theodoret plainly allows the thing, and only disapproves the name. Again he (8) saith in the same exalted strain concerning the martyrs, 'They who are well pray for 'the continuance of health, and they who have been 'long sick pray for recovery: the barren also pray for 'children; and they who are to make a long journey 'desire them to be their companions and guides in the 'way; not going to them as Gods, but applying to 'them as to divine men, and beseeching them to be-'come intercessors for them with God.' Nay he saith (9) 'that the martyrs have blotted out of the minds of 'men the memory of those who were called Gods. 'For our Lord hath brought his dead into the place of 'your Gods, whom he hath utterly abolished, and hath 'given their honor to the martyrs: for instead of the

(8) οἱ μεν ὑγιαινοντες, αιτουσι της ὑγιειας την φυλακην. οἱ δε τινι νοσῳ παλαιοντες, την των παθηματων απαλλαγην· αιτουσι δε και αγονοι παιδας—και οἱ μεν εις τινα αποδημιαν στελλομενοι λιπαρουσι τουτους ξυνοδοιπορους γενεσθαι, και της ὁδου ἡγεμονας·—ουκ ὡς θεοις αυτοις προσιοντες, αλλ' ὡς θειους ανθρωπους αντιβολουντες, και γενεσθαι πρεσβυτας ὑπερ σφων παρακαλουντες. Qui integra sunt valetudine, hanc sibi conservari, qui autem morbo quopiam conflictantur, hunc depelli petunt. Petunt et liberos qui his carent.—Qui peregrinationem aliquam auspicantur, ab his petunt, ut viæ sibi comites sint, ducesque itineris—non illos adeuntes ut deos, sed tanquam divinos homines eos orantes, intercessoresque sibi ut esse velint postulantes. [Translated in the text.] Ibid. p. 605, 606.

(9) και γαρ αυτων καλουμενων θεων την μνημην εκ της των ανθρωπων εξηλειψαν διανοιας.—τους γαρ οικειους νεκρους ὁ δεσποτης αντεισηξε τοις ὑμετεροις θεοις. και τους μεν φρουδους απεφηνε, τουτοις δε τα εκεινων απενειμε γερα. αντι γαρ δη των Πανδιων, και Διονυσιων—Πετρου, και Παυλου και Θωμα,—και των αλλων μαρτυρων, επιτελουνται δημοθοινιαι,——ὁρωντες τοινυν της των μαρτυρων τιμης το ωφελιμον, φευγετε, ω φιλοι, των δαιμονων τον πλανον, και τουτοις φωστηρσι και ποδηγοις κεχρημενοι, την προς θεον αγουσαν πορειαν ὁδευσατε.——cum eorum quoque qui passim dii ferebantur, memoriam e mente hominum abolerint—suos enim mortuos dominus deus noster in templa pro diis vestris induxit: ac illos quidem cassos vanosque reddidit, his autem honorem illorum attribuit. Pro Pandiis enim ac Dionysiis—Petri, et Pauli, et Thomæ—aliorumque martyrum solemnitates peraguntur.—Cum igitur ex honore martyribus delato quid utilitatis proveniat cernatis, fugite, amici, dæmonum errorem, præviaque illorum face atque ductu, viam capessite, quæ ad deum perducit. [Translated in the text.] Ibid. p. 606, 607.

'feasts of Jupiter and of Bacchus are now celebrated the 'festivals of Peter, and Paul, and Thomas, and the 'other martyrs. Wherefore seeing the advantage of 'honoring the martyrs, fly, O friends, from the error 'of the demons; and using the martyrs as lights and 'guides, pursue the way which leadeth directly to God.' Here are *the doctrins of demons* evidently revived, only the name is altered, and the saints are substituted for the demons, the Divi or deified men of the Christians for the Divi or deified men of the Heathens

The promoters of this worship were sensible that it was the same, and that the one succeeded to the other; and as the worship is the same, so likewise is it performed with the same ceremonies, whether these ceremonies were derived from the same source of superstition common to the whole race of mankind, or were the direct copies of one another. The (1) burning of incense or perfumes on several altars at one and the same time; the sprinkling of holy water, or a mixture of salt and common water, at going into and coming out of places of public worship; the lighting up of a great number of lamps and wax-candles, in broad day-light, before the altars and statues of their deities; the hanging up of votive offerings and rich presents as attestations of so many miraculous cures and deliverances from diseases and dangers; the canonization or deification of deceased worthies; the assigning of distinct provinces or prefectures to departed heroes and saints; the worshipping and adoring of the dead in their sepulchres, shrines, and relics; the consecrating and bowing down to images; the attributing of miraculous powers and virtues to idols; the setting up of little oratories, altars and statues, in the streets and highways, and on the tops of mountains; the carrying of images and relics in pompous processions with numerous lights, and with

(1) The reader may see this conformity between Popery and Paganism proved at large by Dr. Henry More in his Second Part of the Mystery of Iniquity, B. 1. Chap. 17. by Dr. Middleton in his Letter from Rome, by Mr. Seward in his Dissertation on the Conformity between Popery and Paganism, and other learned and ingenious authors.

music and singing; flagellations at solemn seasons, under the notion of penance; the making a sanctuary of temples and churches; a great variety of religious orders and fraternities of priests; the shaving of priests, or the tonsure, as it is called, on the crown of their heads; the imposing of celibacy and vows of chastity on the religious of both sexes; all these and many more rites and ceremonies are equally parts of Pagan and of Popish superstition. Nay the very same temples, the very same altars, the very same images, which once were consecrated to Jupiter and the other demons, are now reconsecrated to the virgin Mary and the other saints. The very same titles and inscriptions are ascribed to both; the very same prodigies and miracles are related of these as of those. In short the whole almost of Paganism is converted and applied to Popery; the one is manifestly formed upon the same plan and principles as the other; so that there is not only a conformity, but even an uniformity in the worship of ancient and modern, of Heathen and Christian Rome.

III. Such an apostasy as this of reviving *the doctrins of demons* and worshipping the dead, was not likely to succeed and take place immediately; it should prevail and prosper *in the latter times.* The phrase of *the latter times* or *days,* or *the last times* or *days,* as it hath been observed upon (2) a former occasion, signifies any time yet to come; but denotes more particularly the times of Christianity. So we find it used by some of the ancient prophets, as for example Isaiah, Micah, and Joel. Isaiah saith (ii. 2.) *And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it.* Micah to the same purpose, and almost in the same words, (iv. 1.) *But in the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and people shall flow unto it.* And Joel, as he is quoted by St.

(2) In Dissertation IV.

Peter, (Acts ii. 16, 17.) *But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel; And it shall come to pass in the last days (saith God) I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh.* The times of Christianity may properly be called *the latter times* or *days*, or *the last times* or *days*, because it is the last of all God's revelations to mankind. Daniel also having measured all future time by the succession of four principal kingdoms, and having affirmed that the kingdom of Christ should be set up during the last of the four kingdoms, the phrase of *the latter times* or *days*, or of *the last times* or *days*, may still more properly signify the times of the Christian dispensation. Thus it is applied by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, (Heb. i. 1, 2.) *God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.* Thus also St. Peter, (1 Pet i. 20.) Christ *verily was foreordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you.*

But there is a farther notation of time in the prophet Daniel; there are the last times taken singly and comparatively, or the latter times (as I may say after Mr. Mede) of the last times, which are the times of the little horn or of Antichrist, (Dan. vii.) who should arise during the latter part of the last of the four kingdoms, and should be destroyed together with it, after having continued *a time, and times, and half a time.* What these times signify, and how they are to be computed, hath been shown in a (3) former dissertation; and it is in reference to these times especially, that many things under the gospel-dispensation are predicted to fall out *in the latter times* or *days* or in *the last times* or *days.* So St. Peter speaketh (2 Pet. iii. 3.) *There shall come in the last days scoffers walking after their own lusts.* So too St. Jude. (ver. 17, 18.) *Beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ: How that they told you, there should be mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own*

(3) In Dissertation XIV.

ungodly lusts. So likewise St. Paul. (2 Tim. iii. 1.) *This know also that in the last days perilous times shall come.* These also are *the latter times* spoken of in the text. In these times the worship of the dead should principally prevail; and that it hath so prevailed, all mankind can testify. The practice might begin before, but the popes have authorized and established it by law. The popish worship is more the worship of demons than of God or Christ.

IV. Another remarkable peculiarity of this prophecy is the solemn and emphatic manner in which it is delivered, *The Spirit speaketh expresly.* Every one will readily apprehend, that by *the Spirit* is meant the holy Spirit of God which inspired the prophets and apostles. So *the Spirit* (Acts viii. 29.) *said unto Philip, Go near, and join thyself to this chariot.* So *the Spirit* (Acts x. 19.) *said unto Peter, Behold, three men seek thee.* So *the Spirit* (Rev. xiv. 13.) *saith, Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labors.* But these things the Spirit only *said;* it is not affirmed, that he said them *expresly.* The Spirit's *speaking expresly,* as (4) Erasmus and others expound it, is his speaking precisely and certainly, not obscurely and involvedly, as he was wont to speak in the prophets: and Whitby argues farther, that in those times of prophecy, when the prophets had the government of the churches, and spake still in the public assemblies, it might reasonably be said, *The Spirit speaketh expresly* what they taught expresly in the church. St. Paul had indeed before predicted this *apostasy* both in discourse and in a letter to the Thessalonians, and he is by some supposed to refer to that epistle in this place. But tho' the predictions are alike, yet they are not *expresly* the same: the general subject is the same in both, but the particular circumstances are different, so that the one cannot be said to be copied from the other. There the

(4) Ῥητῶς præscriptè sive præcisè, non obscurè, et involutè, quemadmodum loqui solet in prophetis. [' Ῥητῶς signifies in a limited and precise manner, in opposition to that which is obscure and involved, as God useth to speak by the prophets.'] Erasm. in locum. Whitby ibid.

apostasy is predicted, here it is specified wherein it is to consist. I would therefore prefer Mr. Mede's interpretation, that *the Spirit speaketh expresly* what he speaketh in express words in some place or other of divine writ: and the Spirit hath spoken the same things in express words before in the prophecy of Daniel. Daniel hath foretold in express words the worship of new demons or demi gods: (Dan. xi. 38.) *And with God,* or *instead of God Mahuzzim in his estate shall he honor; even with God, or instead of God, those whom his fathers knew not shall he honor with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desirable things.* The *Mahuzzim* of Daniel are the same as the *demons* of St. Paul, Gods-protectors or Saints-protectors, defenders and guardians of mankind. Daniel also hath foretold in express words, that this worship should be accompanied with a prohibition of marriage: (ver. 37.) *Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women;* that is he shall neglect and discourage *the desire of wives,* and all conjugal affection. Daniel hath likewise intimated that this worship should take place *in the latter times;* for he hath described it in the latter part of his prophecy, and these times he hath expresly named *a time and times and half a time.* If the reader hath been at the trouble of perusing the latter dissertation upon the eleventh chapter of Daniel, he will more easily perceive the connexion and resemblance between the two prophecies. This therefore is a prophecy not dictated merely by private suggestion and inspiration, but taken out of the written word. It is a prophecy not only of St. Paul, but of Daniel too, or rather of Daniel confirmed and approved by St. Paul.

V. Having shown wherein the great apostasy of the latter times consists, namely in reviving the doctrins concerning demons, and worshipping the dead, the apostle proceeds to describe by what means and by what persons it should be propagated and established in the world: *Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron,* or rather *Through the hypocrisy of liers, having their conscience seared with a hot iron.* For the

preposition εν *in* often signifies as well *by* or *through:* as in St. Mark's gospel, (ix. 29.) *This kind can come forth by nothing but* εν προσευχη και νηστεια *by prayer and fasting:* and again in the Acts of the Apostles, (xvii. 31.) *God hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness* εν ανδρι *by that man whom he hath ordained:* and again in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, (xii. 11.) *Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil* εν αγαθω *by* or *with good:* and again in St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, (i. 9.) *That he may be able* εν διδασκαλια υγιαινουση *by sound doctrin both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers:* and so likewise in the text, εν υποκρισει *by* or *through hypocrisy. Liers* too or *speaking lies* ψευδολογων cannot possibly be joined in conjunction with τινες *some* and προσεχοντες *giving heed,* because they are in the nominative case, and this in the genitive. Neither can it well be joined in conjunction with δαιμονιων *demons* or *devils:* for how can *demons* or *devils* be said to *speak lies in hypocrisy,* and to *have their conscience seared with a hot iron?* Besides if δαιμονιων *demons* be taken for *devils,* and not in the sense that we have explained it, nor with the addition of Epiphanius, then it is not expressed at all, wherein the great apostasy of the latter times consists. The *forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats* are circumstances only and appendages of the great apostasy, and not the great apostasy itself, which is always represented in scripture as *spiritual fornication* or *idolatry* of one kind or other, and it is not likely that the apostle should specify the circumstantial errors, and omit the main and capital crime. In this place it is not the great apostasy that he is describing, but the characters and qualities of the authors and promoters of it. Castalio therefore very properly (5) translates εν υποκρισει ψευδολογων *through the dissimulation of men speaking lies:* I have added *men,* says he, lest *speaking lies* and what follows should be referred to *demons* or devils. It is plain then that the great apostasy of the latter times was to prevail

(5) *Per simulationem hominum fa'siloquorum*] *Hominum* addi, ne *falsiloquorum* et sequentia referrentur ad *dæmonia.* Castal. in locum. [Translated in the text.]

through the hypocrisy of liers having their conscience seared with a hot iron: and hath not the great idolatry of Christians, and the worship of the dead particularly, been diffused and advanced in the world by such instruments and agents, who have (Rom. i. 25.) *changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever?* It is impossible to relate or enumerate all the various falsehoods and lies, which have been invented and propagated for this purpose; the fabulous books forged under the names of apostles, saints, and martyrs; the fabulous legends of their lives, actions, sufferings, and deaths; the fabulous miracles ascribed to their sepulchres, bones, and other relics; the fabulous dreams and revelations, visions and apparitions of the dead to the living; and even the fabulous saints, who never existed but in the imagination of their worshippers: And all these stories the monks, the priests, the bishops of the church, have imposed and obtruded upon mankind, it is difficult to say, whether the greater artifice or cruelty, with greater confidence or hypocrisy and pretended sanctity, a more hardened face or a more hardened conscience. The history of the church, saith Pascal, *is the history of truth;* but as written by bigotted papists, it is rather the *history of lies.* So well doth this prophecy coincide and agree with the preceding one, that *the coming of the man of sin* should be *after the working of Satan with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness.*

VI. A farther character of these men is given in the following words, *Forbidding to marry.* The same hypocritical liers, who should promote the worship of demons, should also prohibit lawful marriage. Saturnius or Saturnilus, who florished in the second century, was, as Theodoret (6) affirms, the first Christian, who de-

(6) τον δε γαμον ὑτος προτος τε διαβολε διδασκαλιαν ονομασε νομοθετει δε και εμψυχων απεχεσθαι. Nuptias hic primus omnium diaboli doctrinam appellavit. Jubet autem et ab animatis abstinere. [' And he first of all called marriage a doctrine of the devil, and brings in a law to abstain from animal food.'] Theod. Hæret. Fab. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. p. 194. Tom. 4. Edit. Paris. 1642.

clared matrimony to be the doctrin of the devil, and exhorted men to abstain from animal food. But according (7) to Irenæus and Eusebius, Tatian, who had been a disciple of Justin Martyr, was the first author of this heresy; at least he concurred in opinion with Saturninus and Marcion; and their followers were called *the Continents* from their continence in regard to marriage and meats. The Gnostics likewise, as Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus (8) informs us, asserted that to marry and beget children proceeded from the devil; and under pretence of continence were impious both against the creature and Creator, teaching that men ought not to bring into the world other unhappy persons, nor supply food for death. Other heretics in the third century advanced the same doctrins, but they were generally reputed heretics, and their doctrins were condemned by the church. The council of Eliberis in Spain, which was held in the year of Christ 305, was I think the first, that by public authority (9) forbad the clergy to marry, and commanded even those who were married to abstain altogether from their wives. The council of Neocæsarea, in the year 314, only (1) forbad unmarried presbyters to marry on the penalty of degradation. At the first general council of Nice, in

(7) Iren. apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 29.

(8) Nubere et generare a Satana dicunt esse. ['They say to marry and beget children proceeds from Satan.'] Iren. Lib. 1. Cap. 22. p. 97. Edit. Grabe. Τοις δε ευφημως δι' εγκρατειας ασεβουσιν, εις τε την κτισιν και τον δημιουργον, τον παντοκρατορα μονον Θεον, και διδασκουσι μη δειν παραδεχεσθαι γαμον και παιδοποιιαν, μηδε αντεισαγειν τω κοσμω δυστυχησοντας ετερους, μηδε επιχορηγειν τω θανατω τροφην——Adversus autem alterum genus hæreticorum, qui speciose per continentiam impie se gerunt, tum in creaturam, tum in sanctum opificem qui est solus Deus omnipotens; et dicunt non esse admittendum matrimonium et liberorum procreationem, nec in mundum esse inducendos alios infelices futuros, nec suppeditandum morti nutrimentum—['And against those who under a specious appearance of a regard to continency, are guilty of impiety both against the creature, and the Creator, the Almighty and only God; who teach that men ought not to marry and beget children, nor to introduce other miserable beings into the world, nor to furnish food for death.']—Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. 3. Cap. 6. p. 531. Edit. Potter.

(9) Conc. Elib. C. 33. S. Basnagii Annales Vol. 2. p. 522, et 600.

(1) Conc. Neoc. Can. 1. Presbyter si uxorem duxerit, ab ordine suo removeatur. ['If a Presbyter marry let him be degraded.'] S. Basnag. ibid p. 622, et 657.

the year 325, a motion was (2) made to restrain the clergy from all conjugal society with their wives: but it was strongly opposed by Paphnutius, a famous Egyptian bishop, who yet himself was never married; and to him the whole council agreed, and left every man to his liberty as before. But the monks had not yet prevailed; the monks soon after overspread the eastern church, and the western too: and as the monks were the first who brought single life into repute; so they were the first also who revived and promoted the worship of demons. It is a thing universally known, that one of the primary and most essential laws and constitutions of all monks, whether solitary or associated, whether living in deserts or in convents, is the profession of single life, to abstain from marriage themselves, and to discourage it all they can in others. It is equally certain, that the monks had the principal share in promoting and propagating the worship of the dead; and either out of credulity, or for worse reasons, recommended it to the people with all the pomp and power of their eloquence in their homilies and orations. Read only some of the most celebrated fathers; read the (3) orations of Basil on the martyr Mamas, and on the forty martyrs; read the orations of Ephraim Syrus on the death of Basil, and on the forty martyrs, and on the praises of the holy martyrs; read the orations of Gregory Nazianzen on Athanasius, and on Basil, and on Cyprian; read the orations of Gregory Nyssen on Ephraim Syrus, and on the martyr Theodorus, and on Meletius bishop of Antioch; read the sixty-sixth, and other homilies of Chrysostom; read his oration on the martyrs of Egypt, and other orations: and you will be greatly astonished to find, how full they are of this sort of superstition, what powers and miracles are ascribed to the saints, what prayers and praises are

(2) Socratis Hist. Eccles. Lib. 1. Cap. 11. Sozomen Lib. 1. Cap. 23. S. Basnag. ibid. p. 707. Bingham's Antiquities, B. 4. Ch. 5. Sect. 7.

(3) The reader may see some extracts out of all these in Sir Isaac Newton's observations on Daniel, Chap. 14.

offered up to them. All these were monks, and most of them bishops too, in the fourth century: and the superstitious worship which these monks begun, the succeeding monks completed, till at length the very relics and images of the dead were worshipped as much as the dead themselves. The monks then were the principal promoters of the worship of the dead in former times: and who are the great patrons and advocates of the same worship now? Are not their legitimate successors and descendents, the monks and priests and bishops of the church of Rome? and do not they also profess and recommend single life, as well as the worship of saints and angels? As long ago as the year 386, pope (4) Siricius held a council of eighty bishops of Rome, and forbad the clergy to cohabit with their wives. This decree was confirmed by pope (5) Innocent at the beginning of the fifth century; and the celibacy of the clergy was fully decreed by (6) Gregory the seventh in the eleventh century; and this hath been the universal law and practice of the church ever since. Thus hath the worship of demons and the prohibition of marriage constantly gone hand in hand together: and as they who maintain the one, maintain the other: so it is no less remarkable, that they who disclaim the one, disclaim also the other, and assert the liberty which nature, or (to speak more properly) the author of nature hath indulged to all mankind.

> Our Maker bids increase: Who bids abstain,
> But our destroyer, foe to God and man?
>
> MILTON.

VII. The last note and character of these men is *commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth:* where in the original the word *commanding* is not expressed but understood, with an ellipsis

(4) Siric. Decr. C. 7. S. Basnage, ibid. p. 522.
(5) Innocent, Decr. C. 12. S. Basnage, ibid. et Vol. 3. p. 106.
(6) S. Basnage, vol. 2. p. 523.

that commentators (7) have observed to be sometimes used by the best classic authors. The same lying hypocrites who should promote the worship of demons, should not only prohibit lawful marriage, but likewise impose unnecessary abstinence from meats: and these two, as indeed it is fit they should, usually go together, as constituent parts of the same hypocrisy. As we learn from (8) Irenæus, the ancient heretics called Continents, who taught that matrimony was not to be contracted, reprobating the primitive work of God, and tacitly accusing him who made man and woman for the procreation of human kind, introduced abstinence also from animal food, showing themselves ungrateful to God who created all things. It is as much the law and constitution of all monks to abstain from meats as from marriage. Some never eat any flesh, others only of certain kinds and on certain days. Frequent fasts are the rule, the boast of their order; and their carnal humility is their spiritual pride. So lived the monks of the ancient church; so live, with less strictness perhaps but with greater ostenta-

(7) Est hic ελλειψις contrarii. Deest enim κελευοντων, quod addit hunc locum citan Epiphanius, aut ποιουντων quod addit Syrus. Similis ferme ελλειψις 1 Cor. xiv. 34. et hic supra. ii. 12. Sic Phædrus, *Non veto dimitti, verum cruciare fame*, supple *jubeo*. ['There is here an elleipsis or a word wanting, of a contrary signification. For the word κελευοντων, *commanding*, which Epiphanius when quoting this passage supplies, or ποιουντων, *making*, which is the word supplied by the Syriac interpreter, is wanting. There is a similar elleipsis in 1 Cor. xiv. 34. and in Chap. ii. 12. Thus Phædrus also saith, *Non veto dimitti, verum cruciari fame*, that is *I do not forbid her to be divorced, but* command *that she should be tortured to death by hunger*,' where the word *jubeo, I command*, is to be supplied.'] Grot. in locum.

(8) οι καλουμενοι εγκρατεις αγαμιαν εκηρυξαν αθετουντες την αρχαιαν πλασιν του Θεου, και ηρεμα κατηγορουντες του αρρεν και θηλυ εις γενεσιν ανθρωπων ποιοτηκοτα· και των λεγομενων παρ' αυτοις εμψυχων αποχην εισηγησαντο, αχαριστουντες τω παντα ποιοτηκοτι Θεω. Qui vocantur continentes, docuerunt non contrahendum esse matrimonium: reprobantes scilicet primitivum illud opificium Dei, et tacite accusantes Deum qui masculum et fœminam condidit ad propagationem generis humani. Induxerunt etiam abstinentiam ab esu eorum quæ animata appellant, ingratos se exhibentes erga eum qui universa creavit Deum. ['They who are called Continents, preach that marriage is not to be contracted, making void the primitive work of God, and tacitly blaming him who made male and female for the procreation of mankind. They have brought in an abstinence from the use of what is called animal food, shewing themselves unthankful to that God who created all things.'] Iren. apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 29.

tion, the monks and friers of the church of Rome: and these have been the principal propagators and defenders of the worship of the dead, both in former and in later times. The worship of the dead is indeed so monstrously absurd as well as impious, that there was hardly any possibility of its ever succeeding and prevailing in the world, but by hypocrisy and lies: but that these particular sorts of hypocrisy, celibacy under pretence of chastity, and abstinence under pretence of devotion, should be employed for this purpose, the Spirit of God alone could foresee and foretel. There is no necessary connexion between the worship of the dead, and forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats: and yet it is certain, that the great advocates of this worship have, by their pretended purity and mortification, procured the greater reverence to their persons, and the readier reception to their doctrins. But this idle, popish, monkish abstinence is as unworthy of a Christian, as it is unnatural to a man. It is perverting the purpose of nature, *and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by the believers and them who know the truth.* The apostle therefore approves and sanctifies the religious custom of blessing God at our meals, as our Saviour, when he was to distribute the loaves and the fishes, (Matt. xiv. 19. xv. 36.) *looked up to heaven, and blessed, and brake:* and what then can be said of those, who have their tables spread with the most plentiful gifts of God, and yet constantly sit down and rise up again without suffering so much as one thought of the giver to intrude upon them? It is but a thought; it is but a glimpse of devotion; and can they, who refuse even that, be reputed either to *believe*, or to *know the truth?* Man is free to partake of all the good creatures of God, but thanksgiving is the necessary condition. *For*, as the apostle subjoins in the next verses, (ver. 4 and 5.) *every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: For it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.* The apostle proceeds to say, that it is the duty of the ministers of the gospel to press

and inculcate these things: (ver. 6.) *If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith, and of good doctrin, whereunto thou hast attained.* All that is preached up of such abstinence and mortification, as well as all the legends of the saints, are no better than *profane and old wives fables*: Godliness is the only thing, that will truly avail us here and hereafter. (ver. 7 and 8.) *But refuse profane and old wives fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness; For bodily exercise profiteth little: but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.*

XXIV.

AN

ANALYSIS

OF THE

REVELATION.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

IT is very useful, as well as very curious and entertaining to trace the rise and progress of religions and governments; and in taking a survey of all the different religions and governments of the world, there is none perhaps that will strike us more with wonder and astonishment than that of Rome, how such a mystery of iniquity could succeed at first and prosper so long, and under the name of Christ introduce Antichrist. Other heresies and schisms have obtained place and credit among men for a time, and then have been happily exposed and suppressed. Arianism once succeeded almost universally; for a while it grew and florished mightily, but in process of time it withered and faded away. But Popery hath now prevailed I know not how many centuries, and her renowned hierarchs have not, like the fathers of other sects, stole into secret meetings and conventicles, but have infected the very heart of the Christian church, and usurped the chief seat of the western world: have not only engaged in their cause private persons, and *led captive silly women*, but have trampled on the necks of princes and emperors themselves, and

the lords and tyrants of mankind have yet been the blind slaves and vassals of the holy see. Rome Christian hath carried her conquests even farther than Rome Pagan. The Romanists themselves make universality and perpetuity the special marks and characters of their church: and no people more industrious than they in *compassing sea and land to make proselytes.*

All sincere protestants cannot but be greatly grieved at the success and prevalence of this religion, and the papists as much boast and glory in it, and for this reason proudly denominate theirs *the catholic religion.* But it will abate all confidence on the one hand, and banish all scruples on the other; if we consider that this is nothing more than what was signified before hand by the Spirit of prophecy. It is directly foretold, that there should be such a power as that of the Pope of Rome, exercised in the Christian church, and that it should prevail for a long season, but at last should have a fall. Several clear and express prophecies to this purpose have been produced out of Daniel and St. Paul in the course of these dissertations; but others clearer still, and more copious and particular, may be found in the Apocalyps or Revelation of St. John, who was the greatest as he was the last prophet of the Christian dispensation, and hath comprehended in this book, and pointed out the most memorable events and revolutions in the church from the apostles days to the consummation of the mystery of God.

But to this book of the Apocalyps or Revelation it is usually objected, that it is so wrapt and involved in figures and allegories, is so wild and visionary, is so dark and obscure, that any thing or nothing, at least nothing clear and certain, can be proved or collected from it. So learned a man as Scaliger is noted for saying (1)

(1) Calvinus sapit, quod in Apocalypsin non scripsit. [Translated in the text.] Vide Scaligerana secunda. p. 41. But Scaliger was not very consistent in his opinion of the Revelation. For as the Bishop of Rochester remarks, he says in another place, Hoc possum gloriari me nihil ignorare eorum quæ in Apocalypsi, Canonico vere libro, prophetice scribuntur, præter illud caput in quo *væ* septies repetitur: ignoro enim idne tempus præterierit, an futurum sit. ['This I can boast of, that I am ignorant of none of those things that are prophetically written in that truly canonical book the

that Calvin was wise, because he wrote no comment upon the Revelation. A celebrated (2) wit and divine of our own church hath not scrupled to assert that that book either finds a man mad, or makes him so. Whitby, though an useful commentator on the other books of the New Testament, would not yet adventure upon the Revelation. " I confess I do it not (3) (says he,) for " want of wisdom; that is because I neither have suffi- " cient reading nor judgment, to discern the intend- " ment of the prophecies contained in that book." Voltaire is pleased to say, that Sir Isaac Newton wrote his comment upon the Revelation, to console mankind for the great superiority that he had over them in other respects: but Voltaire, though a very agreeable, is yet a very superficial writer, and often mistaken in his judgment of men and things. He never was more mistaken, than in affirming that Sir Isaac Newton has explained the Revelation in the same manner with all those who went before him; a most evident proof that he had never read either the one or the others, for if ever he had read them, he must have perceived the difference. However it is undeniable that even the most learned men have miscarried in nothing more than in their comments and explanations of this book. To explain this book perfectly is not the work of one man or of one age; and probably it will never all be clearly understood, till it is all fulfilled. It is a memorable thing, that Bishop Burnet (4) relates to this purpose of his friend the most learned Bishop Lloyd of Worcester. He says that that excellent person was employed above twenty years in studying the Revelation with an amazing diligence and exactnesss, and that he had foretold and proved from the Revelation the peace made between the Turk and the Emperor in the year 1698 long before it was made, and that after this he said the time of the Turks hurting the

Revelation, excepting that chapter where a *woe* is seven times repeated. For I know not whether that time be past, or still to come.'] Scaligeran. 1ma. p. 15.

(2) Dr. South. See Vol. 2. Serm. II. p. 422. 6th Edit.

3) See Whitby's Pref. to his Treatise of the Millennium.

4) Burnet's Hist. of his own times. Vol. 2. p. 204.

papa. Christians was at an end: and he was so positive in this, that he consented that all his sheme should be laid aside, if (5) ever the Turk engaged in a new war with them. But it is very well known, that the Turk and the Emperor have engaged in a new war since that time, and probably may engage again, so that by his own consent all his scheme is to be laid aside: and if so great a master of learning, so nice a critic in chronology and history, one who perhaps understood the prophetic writings better than any man of his time, was so grossly mistaken in the most positive of his calculations, it may serve at least as an admonition to others of inferior abilities to beware how they meddle with these matters, and rather to avoid the rocks and shelves about which they see so many shipwracks.

Not that this book is therefore to be despised or neglected. They who censure and dissuade the study of it, do it for the most part because they have not studied it themselves, and imagin the difficulties to be greater than they are in reality. It is still *the sure word of prophecy;* and men of learning and leisure cannot better employ their time and abilities than in studying and explaining this book, provided they do it, as Lord (6) Bacon adviseth, 'with great wisdom, sobriety, and reverence.' Lord Bacon adviseth it with regard to all the prophecies, but such caution and reverence are more especially due to this of St John. "The folly of interpreters has "been, as Sir Isaac Newton (7) observes, to foretel "times and things by this prophecy, as if God designed "to make them prophets. By this rashness they have "not only exposed themselves, but brought the pro-

(5) Upon reflection I think it not impossible that Bishop Burnet might mistake, and so might misrepresent Bishop Lloyd's meaning. If he said indeed, that the Turks would never engage in a new war with the papal Christians, he was plainly in the wrong, the event hath shewn that he was in the wrong. If he said only that the Turks would no more hurt the papal Christians, would no more subdue any Christian state or potentate, he was probably in the right; the prophet seemeth to intimate the same thing, and the event hitherto confirms it.

(6) —Magna cum sapientia, sobrietate, et reverentia. [Translated in the text.] See the quotation prefixed to the Introduction.

(7) Sir Isaac Newton's Observations upon the Apocalyps. Chap. 1. p. 251.

" phecy also into contempt. The design of God was " much otherwise. He gave this and the prophecies " of the Old Testament, not to gratify men's curiosities " by enabling them to foreknow things, but that after " they were fulfilled they might be interpreted by the " event, and his own providence, not the interpreters, " be then manifested thereby to the world." If therefore we would confine ourselves to the rules of just criticism, and not indulge lawless and extravagant fancies; if we would be content with sober and genuin interpretation, and not pretend to be prophets, nor presume to be wise above what is written; we should more consider those passages which have already been accomplished, than frame conjectures about those which remain yet to be fulfilled. Where the facts may be compared with the predictions, there we have some clue to guide us thro' the labyrinth: and though it may be difficult to trace out every minute resemblance, yet there are some strong lines and features, which I think cannot fail of striking every one, who will but impartially and duly examin them.

We should be wanting to the subject, and leave our work unfinished, if we should omit so material a part of prophecy. And yet such a disquisition is not to be entered upon hastily, but after a diligent perusal of the best authors, both foreign and domestic; and it will be happy, if out of them all there can be formed one entire system, complete and consistent in all its parts. As Sir Isaac Newton (8) says, " Among the interpreters of " the last age, there 's scarce one of note who hath not " made some discovery worth knowing." But our greatest obligations are owing to three particularly, Mr. Mede, Vitringa, and Daubuz. We shall find reason generally to concur with one or more of them; but as they often differ from one another, so we shall differ sometimes from all the three, and follow other guides, or perhaps no guides at all. What satisfaction we may give to others, is very uncertain; we shall at least have

(8) Sir Isaac Newton, ibid. p. 253.

the satisfaction ourselves of tracing the ways of providence. It is little encouragement to this kind of studies to reflect, that two of the most learned men of their times, as well as two of the best interpreters of this book, Mr. Mede and Mr. Daubuz, the one died a fellow of a college, and the other a vicar of a poor vicarage in Yorkshire. Mr. Mede, as we read in the memoirs of his life, was so modest, that he wished for nothing more than a donative or sinecure to be added to his fellowship; but even this he could not obtain.

> Alas! what boots it with incessant care,
> To tend the homely slighted shepherd's trade,
> And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?
> Were it not better done as others use, &c.
>
> MILTON'S LYCIDAS.

But however let us proceed, encouraged by that divine benediction, *Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein.*

CHAP. I.

1 THE Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass: and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John:

2 Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw.

3 Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein: for the time is at hand.

The book opens (ver. 1, 2, 3.) with the title or inscription of the book itself; the scope and design of it, to foretel things which should shortly begin to be fulfilled, and succeed in their due season and order, till all were accomplished; and the blessing pronounced on him who shall read and explain it, and on them, who shall

hear and attend to it. The distinction is remarkable of *him that readeth,* and of *them that hear;* for books being then in manuscript were in much fewer hands, and it was a much readier way to publish a prophecy or any thing by public reading than by transcribing copies. It was too the custom of that age to read all the apostolical writings in the congregations of the faithful: but now only some few parts of this book are appointed to be read on certain festivals.

4 John to the seven churches which are in Asia: Grace *be* unto you, and peace from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven spirits which are before his throne;

5 And from Jesus Christ, *who is* the faithful witness, *and* the first-begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth: Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood,

6 And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father: to him *be* glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

7 Behold he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they *also* which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him: even so, Amen.

8 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

The apostle dedicates his book (ver. 4, 5, 6.) to the seven churches of the Lydian or proconsular Asia, wishing them grace and peace from the eternal God as the author and giver; and from the seven spirits, the representatives and ministers of the Holy Ghost, as the instruments; and from Jesus Christ as the mediator, who is mentioned last, because the subsequent discourse more immediately relates to him. To the dedication he subjoins a short and solemn preface (ver. 7, 8.) to show the

great authority of the divine person, who had commissioned him to write the Revelation.

9 I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the ile that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

10 I was in the spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet,

11 Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, What thou seest, write in a book, and send *it* unto the seven churches which are in Asia: unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea.

12 And I turned to see the voice that spake with me. and being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks;

13 And in the midst of the seven candlesticks, *one* like unto the Son of man, cloathed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle.

14 His head and *his* hairs *were* white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes *were* as a flame of fire;

15 And his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace: and his voice as the sound of many waters.

16 And he had in his right hand seven stars: and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword: and his countenance *was* as the sun shineth in his strength.

17 And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead: and he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last:

18 *I am* he that liveth, and was dead; and behold I am alive for ever more, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death.

19 Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter.

20 The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches: and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest, are the seven churches.

He then (ver. 9—20.) mentions the place, where the Revelation was given, and describes the manner and circumstances of the first vision. The place, where the Revelation was given, was Patmos, a desolate iland in the Archipelago, whither he was banished for the confession of the gospel. It is not well known, at what time, or by whom he was banished into this island; but we may suppose it to have happened in the reign of Nero more probably than in that of Domitian It is indeed the more general opinion, that the Apocalyps was written in Domitian's reign; and this opinion is founded upon the (9) testimony of Irenæus, who was the disciple of Polycarp, who had been the disciple of St. John. This authority is great, and is made still greater, as it is confirmed by (1) Eusebius in his Chronicle and in his Ecclesiastical History. But Eusebius a little afterwards in the (2) same history recites a memorable story out of Clemens Alexandrinus; that St. John, after he returned from Patmos, committed a hopeful young man to the care of a certain bishop; that the bishop received him into his house, educated, instructed, and at length baptized him; that the bishop afterwards remitting of his care and strictness, the young man was corrupted by idle and dissolute companions, reveled with them, robbed with them, and forming them into a gang of high-way men was made their captain, and became the terror of

(9) Iren. advers. Hæres. Lib. 5. Cap. 30. p. 449. Edit. Grabe.

(1) Eusebii Chron. Lib. 1. Edit. Scalig. p. 80. Gr. p. 41. Lat. Vide etiam p. 164. Libri posterioris, et Chron. Can. p. 208. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 3. Cap. 18.

(2) Euseb. Hist. ibid. Cap. 23.

all the country; that after some time St. John coming upon other occasions to revisit the same bishop, inquired after the young man, and was informed that he was not to be found in the church, but in such a mountain with his fellow-robbers; that St. John called for a horse, and rode immediately to the place; that when the young man saw him, he fled away from him; that St. John forgetting his age, pursued eagerly after him, recalled him, and restored him to the church. Now all these transactions must necessarily take up some years; and may seem credible if St. John was banished by Nero, but are altogether impossible if he was banished by Domitian; for he survived Domitian but a very few years, and he was then near 100 years old, and so very weak and infirm that (3) he was with great difficulty carried to church, and could hardly speak a few words to the people, and much less ride briskly after a young robber. Epiphanius (4) asserts, that he was banished into Patmos, and wrote the Apocalyps there, in the reign of Claudius: but Epiphanius being not a correct writer, he might possibly mistake Claudius for his successor Nero, especially as Nero had assumed the name of Claudius, by whom he was adopted, Nero Claudius Cæsar. This date is perhaps near as much too early, as the time of Domitian is too late. The churches of Syria have thus (5) inscribed their version, 'The 'Revelation made to John the Evangelist by God in 'the iland Patmos, into which he was banished by 'Nero the Cæsar.' The ancient Commentators (6) Andreas and Arethas affirm, that it was understood to be written before the destruction of Jerusalem. But if it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, it might naturally be expected that such a memorable event would not have been unnoticed in this prediction; and

(3) Hieron. in Epist. ad Galat. Cap. 6. Tom. 4. Part Prior. Col. 314. Edit. Benedict.

(4) Epiphan. advers. Hæres. Lib. 1. Tom. 2. Sect. 12. p. 434. Sect. 33. p. 456. Edit. Petav.

(5) Revelatio quæ facta est Joanni evangelistæ a Deo in Patmo insula, in quam injectus fuit a Nerone Cæsare. [Translated in the text.]

(6) Andreas in Apoc. vi. 16. Arethas in Apoc. xviii. 19.

neither was it unnoticed in this prediction, as will be seen hereafter. Our Saviour's repeating so frequently in this book, *Behold, I come quickly—Behold he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also who pierced him, and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him*—and the like expressions, cannot surely be so well understood of any other event as of the destruction of Jerusalem, which *coming* was also spoken of in the gospels, and what other *coming* was there so speedy and conspicuous? So many spurious Apocalypses, written by Cerinthus and others in early times, demonstrate evidently that the Apocalyps of St. John, in imitation whereof they were written, was still earlier, and was held in high estimation among Christians. But what is to me an unanswerable argument, the stile itself, so full of Hebraisms, and as I may say so full of barbarisms and even solecisms, as some (7) even of the ancients have observed, manifestly evinces, that the author was but lately come out of Judea, was little accustomed to write in Greek, and had not yet attained to that greater purity of stile, which appears in his Gospels and Epistles. On the contrary it is urged, that there are internal marks in the book itself of its being of a later date than Nero's reign, that the churches of Asia could not have changed and degenerated so much in so short a space of time, that they had not then been exposed to persecution, nor had Antipas suffered martyrdom at Pergamos, the persecutions by Nero being confined to the metropolis of the empire. But why might not St. John charge the churches of Asia with having degenerated and *fallen from their first love*, as well as St. Paul accuse the church of Corinth, (1 Cor. iii. 3.) of being *carnal* and having *envying and strife and divisions among them*; or complain of the churches of Galatia, (Galat. i. 6.) *I marvel that ye are so soon removed from them that called you into the*

(7) διαλεκτον μεντοι και γλωσσαν ουκ ακριβως ελληνιζουσαν αυτου βλεπω, αλλ' ιδιωμασι μεν βαρβαρικοις χρωμενον και που και σολοικιζοντα. Verum dictionem ejus non admodum Græcam animadverto, sed barbarismis atque interdum soloecismis inquinatam. [' But I observe that his dialect and language are not purely Greek, but that he uses barbarous idioms, and sometimes solecisms.'] Dionysius Alex. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 7. Cap. 25.

grace of Christ unto another gospel (iii. 1.) *O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you that ye should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth ;* or write to Timothy the first Bishop of Ephesus (2 Tim. i. 15.) *This thou knowest that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me?* Why might not the churches of Asia be liable to persecution, when it is said (2 Tim. iii. 12.) that *all who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution ;* when unto the Philippians (i. 29.) *it was given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake ;* and when the Thessalonians (1 Thess. ii. 14.) *suffered like things of their own countrymen, as the churches in Judea of the Jews ;* and manifested (2 Thess. i. 4.) *their patience and faith in all their persecutions and tribulations which they endured?* As for Antipas there is no genuin history or authentic account of him ; it is not known, who or what he was, when he suffered, or who caused him to be put to death, so that nothing can be from thence inferred one way or other. Neither is it certain that the persecutions by Nero were confined to the metropolis ; they raged indeed most there, but were extended likewise over all the provinces, as (8) Orosius testifies with others. Sir Isaac Newton hath farther (9) shown, that in the Epistles of St. Peter, and in St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, there are several allusions to this book of the Apocalyps; and St. Peter and St. Paul, all the ancients agree, suffered martyrdom in the end of Nero's reign. It may indeed be retorted, that St. John might borrow from St. Peter and St. Paul, as well as St. Peter and St. Paul from St. John : but if you will consider and compare the passages together, you will find sufficient reason to be convinced, that St. Peter's and St. Paul's are the copies, and St. John the original. Moreover it is to be observed, that this Revelation was given *on the Lord's*

(8) Primus Romæ Christianos supplicüis et mortibus affecit; ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciari imperavit. ['He first punished and put to death the Christians at Rome, and gave order that the same persecution should extend to all the provinces.'] Lib. 7. Cap. 7. p. 473. Edit. Havercamp.

(9) Sir Isaac Newton's Obs. upon the Apoc. Chap. 1. p. 239—246.

day, when the apostle's heart and affections, as we may reasonably suppose, were sublimed by the meditations and devotions of the day, and rendered more recipient of divine inspiration. The heavenly visions were vouchsafed to St. John, as they were before to Daniel, (Dan. ix. x.) after supplication and prayer: and there being (1) two kinds of prophetic revelation in a vision and a dream, the Jews accounted a vision superior to a dream, as representing things more perfectly and to the life.

In the first vision Jesus Christ, or his angel, speaking in his name, and acting in his person, appears amid *the seven golden candlesticks*, meaning *the seven churches*. His clothing is somewhat like the high priest's, and he is described much in the same manner as the divine appearances in Daniel's visions. (Dan. vii. 9. x. 5, &c.) St. John at the sight of so glorious a person fell down senseless before him, as Daniel did upon the same occasion; and like Daniel too, he is graciously raised and encouraged, and commanded to write *the things which he had seen*, contained in this chapter, *and the things which are*, the present state of the seven churches represented in the two next chapters, *and the things which shall be hereafter*, the future events which begin to be exhibited in the fourth chapter, as it is there said (ver. 1.) *Come up hither, and I will show thee things which must be hereafter.*

CHAP. II.

1 UNTO the angel of the church of Ephesus, write, These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks;

2 I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they

(1) In istis duabus partibus, *somnio* et *visione*, continentur omnes prophetiæ gradus. [' All the gradations of prophecy may be summed up in these two kinds, *dreams* and *visions*.'] Maimon. in More Nevoch. Part 2. Cap. 36. Smith's Discourse of Prophecy, Chap. 2. p. 174, 175.

are apostles, and are not; and hast found them liars:

3 And hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted.

4 Nevertheless, I have *somewhat* against thee, because thou hast left thy first love.

5 Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.

6 But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate.

7 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. To him that overcometh I will give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.

8 And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna, write, These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive;

9 I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich) and *I know* the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but *are* the synagogue of Satan.

10 Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.

11 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches, He that overcometh, shall not be hurt of the second death.

12 And to the angel of the church in Pergamos, write, These things saith he, which hath the sharp sword with two edges;

13 I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, *even* where Satan's seat *is*: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas *was* my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.

14 But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and commit fornication.

15 So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate.

16 Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth.

17 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches, To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth *it*.

18 And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira, write, These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet *are* like fine brass:

19 I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first.

20 Notwithstanding, I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols.

21 And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not.

22 Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.

23 And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works.

24 But unto you I say, and unto the rest in Thyatira, As many as have not this doctrine, and

which have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak, I will put upon you none other burden

25 But that which ye have *already,* hold fast till I come.

26 And he that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations:

27 (And he shall rule them with a rod of iron: as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers) even as I received of my Father.

28 And I will give him the morning star.

29 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

CHAP. III.

1 AND unto the angel of the church in Sardis, write, These things saith he that hath the seven spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest, and art dead.

2 Be watchful and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God.

3 Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

4 Thou hast a few names even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy.

5 He that overcometh, the same shall be cloathed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father and before his angels.

6 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

7 And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, write, These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth:

8 I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.

9 Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan (which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie) behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.

10 Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.

11 Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.

12 Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, *which is* new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and *I will write upon him* my new name.

13 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

14 And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans, write, These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God:

15 I know thy works that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.

16 So then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth:

17 Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing: and knowest

not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.

18 I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed; and *that* the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see.

19 As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent.

20 Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.

21 To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.

22 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

The second and third chapters contain the seven epistles to the seven churches of Asia, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. These seven are addressed particularly, because they were under St. John's immediate inspection; he (1) constituted bishops over them; he was as it were their metropolitan, and resided much at Ephesus, which is therefore named the first of the seven. The main subjects too of this book are comprised of sevens, seven churches, seven seals, seven trumpets, and seven vials; as seven was also a mystical number throughout the Old Testament. Many contend, and among them such learned men as More and Vitringa, that the seven epistles are prophetical of so many successive periods and states of the church from the beginning to the conclusion of all. But it doth not appear, that there are or were to be seven periods of the church, neither more or less; and no two men can agree in assigning the same periods. There are likewise in these epistles several innate characters,

(1) Tertull. advers. Marcion. Lib. 4. Sect. 5. p. 415. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris. 1675. Millii Prolegom. in Nov. Test. p. 20.

which are peculiar to the church of that age, and cannot be so well applied to the church of any other age. Besides other arguments, there is also this plain reason; the last state of the church is described in this very book as the most glorious of all, but in the last state in these epistles, that of Laodicea, the church is represented as *wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.*

But tho' these epistles have rather a litteral than a mystical meaning, yet they contain excellent moral precepts and exhortations, commendations and reproofs, promises and threatenings, which may be of use and instruction to the church in all ages. The form and order of the parts you will find the same almost in all the epistles; first a command to write; then some character and attributes of the speaker, taken from the vision in the first chapter, and appropriated to the matter of each epistle; then commendations or reproofs with suitable promises or threatnings; and then in all the same conclusion, *He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.* What therefore the Spirit saith unto one church, he saith in some measure to all the churches. The church of Ephesus in particular is admonished to repent, and forewarned that if she would not repent, her *candlestick should be removed out of his place.* But this admonition belonged equally to all the churches; and hath not the candlestick been accordingly removed out of its place, and the light of the gospel taken from them? Were they not ruined and overthrown by their heresies and divisions from within, and by the arms of the Saracens from without? and doth not Mohammedism still prevail and prosper in those countries, which were once the glory of Christendom, their churches turned into mosques, their worship into superstition? Ephesus in particular, (2) which was

(2) Hodie enim hæc urbs Asianæ olim magnificentiæ exemplum, plane sordet, casulis et gurgustiis deformata, non civitas, sed vicus; et vix ibidem superest una Christianorum familia, ut ex certis constat testibus, iisdemque eruditis viris, qui hodiernam Ephesum descripserunt, Smitho (Notit. Sept. Eccles. As. p. 4.) et Ricaultio. (de Stat. Eccl. Græc. p. 50.) 'For at present this city, which was once the model of Asiatic magnifi-

once so magnificent and glorious a city, is become a mean sordid village, with scarcely a single family of Christians dwelling in it, as approved authors testify. To the church of Smyrna it is predicted, that she should *have tribulation ten days* or *ten years*, according to the usual stile of prophecy: and the greatest persecution that the primitive church ever endured was the persecution of Diocletian, which lasted (3) ten years, and grievously afflicted all the Asian, and indeed all the eastern churches. This character can agree to none of the other general persecutions, for none of the others lasted (4) so long as ten years. As the commendatory and reproving part of these epistles exhibits the present state of the churches, so the promissory and threatning part foretels something of their future condition; and in this sense, and in none other, can these epistles be said to be prophetical.

The first epistle is addressed to the church of Ephesus, as it was the metropolis of the Lydian Asia, and the place of St. John's principal residence. It was, according to (5) Strabo, one of the best and most glorious cities, and the greatest emporium of the proper Asia. It is called by Pliny (6) one of the eyes of Asia, Smyrna being the other: but now, as eye-witnesses (7) have related, it is venerable for nothing but the ruins of palaces, temples, and amphitheatres. It is called by

cence, is now a sordid village, defaced by little cottages and cabins, and is rather a village than a city. Here there is scarcely to be found one family of Christians remaining, as we are assured by credible witnesses, men of learning, who have given us a description of modern Ephesus; viz. Smith (Present State of the Seven Churches of Asia, p. 4.) and Ricaut (State of the Greek Church, page 50.)'] Vitring. p. 73, 74.

(3) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 8. Cap. 15 et 16. Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. Cap. 48.

(4) Quæ persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior—Nam per decem annos, &c. [' Which persecution was of longer continuance than any that went before it,—for during ten years,' &c.] Oros. Lib. 7. Cap. 25. p. 528. Edit. Havercamp.

(5) Strabo. Lib. 14. p. 634. Edit. Paris. p. 941. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Lib. 12. p. 577. Edit. Paris. p. 865. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

(6) Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 31. p. 280. Edit. Harduin.

(7) Smith Sept. Asiæ Eccles. Notit. Rycaut's Present State of the Greek Church. Chap. 2. Wheler's and Spon's Voyage, B. 3. Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels. Vol. 1. Chap. 9.

the Turks Ajasaluk, or the temple of the moon, from the magnificent structure formerly dedicated to Diana. The church of St. Paul is wholly destroyed. The little which remains of that of St. Mark is nodding to ruin. The only church remaining is that dedicated to St. John, which is now converted into a Turkish mosque. The whole town is nothing but a habitation for herdsmen and farmers, living in low and humble cottages of dirt, sheltered from the extremities of weather by mighty masses of ruinous walls; the pride and ostentation of former days, and the emblem in these, of the frailty of the world, and the transient vanity of human glory. All the inhabitants of this once famous city amount not now to above forty or fifty families of Turks, without one Christian family among them: so strikingly hath the denunciation been fulfilled, that their *candlestick should be removed out of his place.*

Smyrna was the nearest city to Ephesus, and for that reason probably was addressed in the second place. It is situated (8) on lower ground than the ancient city, and lieth about forty-five miles northward of Ephesus. It is called Esmir by the Turks, and is celebrated not so much for the splendor and pomp of the buildings (for they are rather mean and ruinous) as for the number, and wealth, and commerce of the inhabitants. The Turks have here fifteen mosques, and the Jews several synagogues. Among these enemies of the Christian name the Christian religion also florishes in some degree. Smyrna stills retains the dignity of a metropolis, altho' there are only two churches of the Greeks. But besides them, here is a great number of Christians of all nations, sects, and languages. The Latin church hath a monastery of Franciscans. The Armenians have one church. But the English, who are the most considerable number, next to the Greeks and Armenians, have only a chapel in the consul's house, which is a shame, says Wheler, considering the great wealth they heap up here,

(8) Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon. ibid. Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels, Chap. 8.

beyond all the rest: yet they commonly excel them in their pastor; for I esteem a good English priest, an evangelist, if compared with any of the rest. Frequent plagues and earthquakes are the great calamities of the place; but the christians are here more considerable, and in a far better condition than in any other of the seven churches: as if the promise was still in some measure made good to Smyrna, *Fear none of those things, which thou shalt suffer; be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.*'

Pergamus, formerly the metropolis of the Hellespontic Mysia, and the seat of the Attalic kings, is (9) by the Turks with some little variation still called Bergamo, and hath its situation about sixty-four miles to the north of Smyrna. Here are some good buildings, but more ruins. All the city almost is occupied by the Turks, very few families of Christians being left, whose state is very sad and deplorable. Here is only one church remaining, dedicated to St. Theodorus; and that the name of Christ is not wholly lost and forgotten in Pergamus, is owing to the care of the metropolitan of Smyrna, who continually sendeth hither a priest to perform the sacred offices. The cathedral church of St. John is buried in its own ruins; their angel or bishop removed; and its fair pillars adorn the graves and rotten carcases of its destroyers, the Turks; who are esteemed about two or three thousand souls in number. Its other fine church, called Santa Sophia, is turned into a mosque, and daily profaned with the blasphemies of the false prophet. There are not in the whole town above a dozen or fifteen families of miserable Christians, who till the ground to gain their bread, and live in the most abject and sordid servitude. There is the less reason to wonder at the wretched condition of this church, when we consider that it was the very *throne of Satan*; that they *ran greedily after the error of Balaam, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication*; and that *they held the impure doctrines of the Nicolaitans, which*

(9) Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon, ibid.

Christ detested. It was denounced unto them to *repent, or else he would come unto them quickly and fight against them,* as the event evinces that he hath done.

Next to Pergamus is Thyatira (1) situated at the distance of about forty-eight miles to the south-east. Certain heretics called *Alogi* (which may not improperly be interpreted *unreasonable men*) have (2) affirmed, but have only affirmed without any proof that at the time of St. John's writing there was no Christian church at Thyatira. Epiphanius admits it, and thence infers that St. John must have written with a prophetic spirit. The objection is frivolous, and Epiphanius might have returned a better answer than *argumentum ad homines,* and instead of allowing the fact and arguing from thence for the divinity of the book, he should absolutely have denied their affirmation. For there is no just reason for doubting, that at this time there was a Christian church at Thyatira. This very epistle is a sufficient proof of it. It is said expresly, (Acts xix. 10.) that *all they who dwelt in Asia* (meaning Asia Minor) *heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks:* and what ground is there for thinking that the city of Thyatira was alone excepted? It is said particularly, (Acts xvi. 14.) that *Lydia,* an eminent trader and *seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, was baptized with her houshold.* At present the city is called by the Turks (3) Akhisar or the white castle, from the great quantities of white marble there abounding. Only one ancient edifice is left standing. The rest, even the churches, are so destroyed, that no vestiges of them are to be found. The principal inhabitants are Turks, who have here eight mosques, when not so much as one Christian church is still remaining. So terribly have the divine judgments been poured upon this church for *committing fornication, and eating things sacrificed unto idols: And*

(1) Smith and Rycaut, ibid.
(2) Epiphan. advers. Hæres. Lib. 2. Tom. 1. Cap. 33. p. 455. Vol. 2. Edit. Petav.
(3) Smith and Rycaut, ibid.

I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not.

Sardis, once the renowned capital of Crœsus and the rich Lydian kings, (4) is now no longer worthy of the name of a city. It lieth about thirty-three miles to the south of Thyatira, and is called by the Turks Sart or Sard, with little or no variation from the old original name. It is a most sad spectacle, nor can one forbear weeping over the ruins of so great a city. For now it is no more than an ignoble village, with low and wretched cottages of clay; nor hath it any other inhabitants, besides shepherds and herdsmen, who feed their flocks and cattle in the neighbouring plains. Yet the great extent and grandeur of the ruins abundantly show, how large and splendid a city it was formerly. The Turks themselves have only one mosque, a beautiful one indeed, perverted to that use from a Christian church. Very few Christians are here to be found; and they with great patience, or rather senseless stupidity, sustain a miserable servitude; and what is far more miserable, are without a church, without a priest among them. Such is the deplorable state of once the most glorious city: but *her works were not found perfect*, that is they were found blameable *before God;* she was *dead*, even while she *lived;* and she is punished accordingly.

Philadelphia, so called from Attalus Philadelphus its builder, (5) is distant from Sardis about twenty-seven miles to the south-east. It is called by the Turks Alah Shahr, or the beautiful city, on account of its delightful situation, standing on the declivity of the mountain Tmolus, and having a most pleasant prospect on the plains beneath, well furnished with divers villages, and watered by the river Pactolus. It still retains the form of a city, with something of trade to invite the people to it, being the road of the Persian caravans. Here is little of antiquity remaining, besides the ruins of a church dedicated to St. John, which is now made a dunghill to

(4) Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon. ibid. Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels. Chap. 10.

(5) Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon. ibid.

receive the offals of dead beasts. Howsoever, God hath been pleased to preserve some of this place to make profession of the Christian faith, there being above two hundred houses of Christians, and four churches; whereof the chief is dedicated to Panagia or the holy Virgin; the other to St. George, who is of great fame among the oriental Christians; the third to St. Theodore; and the fourth to St. Taxiarchus, as St. Michael the arch-angel is called by the Greeks. Next to Smyrna this city hath the greatest number of Christians, and Christ hath promised a more particular protection to it; *I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and none can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.* Than which, as Dr. Spon saith what could be said more formally to foretel the coming of the Turks, the open enemies of Christianity, who seem to be sent on purpose for the punishment of our crimes, and to distinguish the faithful from the false Christians, who pretend to be so, and are not?

Laodicea lay south of Philadephia, in the way to return to Ephesus; and if you will inspect the maps of Asia Minor, you will find the seven churches to lie in a kind of circular form, so that the natural progress was from Ephesus to Smyrna, from Smyrna to Pergamus, from Pergamus to Thyatira, from Thyatira to Sardis, from Sardis to Philadelphia, from Philadelphia to Laodicea, and from Loadicea round to Ephesus again; which is the method and order that St. John hath observed in addressing them, and was probably the circuit that he took in his visitation. That there was a florishing church at Laodicea in the primitive times of Christianity, is evident from St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, wherein frequent mention is made of the Laodiceans, as well as from this Epistle of St. John. But the doom of Laodicea (6) seemeth to have been more severe

(6) Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon, ibid.

and terrible than that of almost any other of the seven churches. For it is now utterly destroyed and forsaken of men, and is become an habitation only for wolves, foxes, and jackalls, a den of dragons, snakes, and vipers. And that because the Lord hath executed the judgment, that he had pronounced upon her: that all the world might know, and tremble at the fierce anger of God against impenitent, negligent, and careless sinners. For such was the accusation of the *lukewarm* Laodiceans, who grew proud and self-conceited, thinking themselves much better than they really were. Wherefore, because they were *neither hot nor cold,* they were loathsome to Christ; and he therefore assured them that he *would spit them out of his mouth.* The ruins show it to have been a very great city, situate upon six or seven hills, and incompassing a large space of ground. Some notion may be formed of its former greatness and glory from three theatres and a circus which are remaining, one of which is truly admirable, as it was capable of containing above thirty thousand men, into whose area they descended by fifty steps. This city is now called Eski Hisar or the old castle; and though it was once the mother-church of sixteen bishopricks, yet it now lieth desolate, not so much as inhabited by shepherds, and so far from shewing any of the ornaments of God's ancient worship, it cannot now boast of an anchorite's or hermit's, chapel, where God's name is praised or invoked.

Such is the state and condition of these seven once glorious and florishing churches; and there cannot be a stronger proof of the truth of prophecy, nor a more effectual warning to other Christians. "These objects, "as Wheler (7) justly observes, ought to make us, who "yet enjoy the divine mercies, to tremble, and earnestly "contend to find out *from whence we are fallen,* and do "daily fall from bad to worse; that God is a God *of "purer eyes than to behold iniquity;* and seeing the *axe* "is thus long since *put to the root of the tree,* should it not "make us repent and turn to God, *lest we likewise*

(7) Wheler's Voyage, B. 3. p. 259, &c.

" *perish?*—We see here *what destruction the Lord hath* " *brought upon the earth.* But *it is the Lord's doing:* " and thence we may reap no small advantage by consi- " dering how *just* he is in all his *judgments*, and *faithful* " in all his *promises.*" We may truly say (1 Cor. x. 11, 12.) that *all these things happened unto them for ensamples; and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come. Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.*

CHAP. IV.

1 AFTER this, I looked, and behold, a door *was* open in heaven: and the first voice which I heard, *was* as it were of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come up hither, and I will show thee things which must be hereafter.

2 And immediately I was in the spirit: and behold, a throne was set in heaven, and *one* sat on the throne.

3 And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper, and a sardine stone: and *there was* a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald.

4 And round about the throne *were* four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold.

5 And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thundrings, and voices: And *there were* seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God.

6 And before the throne *there was* a sea of glass like unto crystal: And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne *were* four beasts full of eyes before and behind.

7 And the first beast was like a lion, and the se-

cond beast like a calf, and the third beast had the face of a man, and the fourth beast *was* like a flying eagle.

8 And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him, and *they were* full of eyes within; and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.

9 And when those beasts give glory, and honour, and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever,

10 The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying,

11 Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour, and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created.

After this vision relating to *the things which are,* other visions succeed of *the things which must be hereafter.* (ver. 1.) The scene is laid in heaven; and the scenery is drawn in allusion to (Numbers i. ii.) the incampment of the children of Israel in the wilderness. God is represented (ver. 2, 3.) sitting on his throne, as in the tabernacle or temple, much in the same manner as the prophet Ezekiel (i. 26, 27, 28.) hath described him. Next to the tabernacle incamped the priests and Levites; and next to the throne (ver. 4.) *were four and twenty elders sitting,* answering to the princes of the four and twenty courses of the Jewish priests; *clothed in white raiment,* as emblems of their purity and sanctity; *and they had on their heads crowns of gold,* Christ having made them (1 Pet. ii. 9.) *a royal priesthood,* and (Rev. v. 10.) *kings and priests unto God. Out of the throne proceeded* (ver. 5.) *lightnings and thundrings, and voices,* the usual concomitants and attendents of the divine presence: *and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne,* answering to the golden candlestick with seven lamps, which

was before the most holy place in the tabernacle. Before the throne there was also (ver. 6.) *a sea of glass, like unto crystal,* answering to the great molten sea or laver in the temple of Solomon: *and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne,* that is before and behind the throne, and on each side of the throne, *were four beasts* or rather *four living creatures,* (ζωα) representing the heads of the whole congregation in the four quarters of the world, and resembling the Cherubim and Seraphim in Ezekiel's and Isaiah's visions, (Ezek. i. 10 x. 14. Is. vi. 2, 3.) or rather resembling the four standards or ensigns of the four divisions in the camp of Israel, according to the (8) traditionary description of them by Jewish writers. *The first living creature was like a lion,* (ver. 7.) which was the standard of Judah with the two other tribes in thee astern division; *and the second like a calf* or *ox,* which was the standard of Ephraim with the two other tribes in the western division; *and the third had a face as a man,* which was the standard of Reuben with the two other tribes in the southern division; *and the fourth was like a flying eagle,* which was the standard of Dan with the two other tribes in the northern division: and this traditionary description agrees also with the four faces of the Cherub in Ezekiel's visions. Of these living creatures and of the elders the constant employment (ver. 8—11.) is to celebrate, in hymns of praise and thanksgiving, the great and wonderful works of creation and providence.

CHAP. V.

1 AND I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne, a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals.

2 And I saw a strong angel, proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?

(8) Majores nostri dixerunt, &c. ['Our forefathers have said, &c.'] See Aben Ezra and others quoted by Mr. Mede, p. 437.

3 And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon.

4 And I wept much because no man was found worthy to open, and to read the book, neither to look thereon.

5 And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not: behold, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof.

6 And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders stood a Lamb, as it had been slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.

7 And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne.

8 And when he had taken the book, the four beasts, and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints.

9 And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation;

10 And hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth.

11 And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands;

12 Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.

13 And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are

in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I, saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.

14 And the four beasts said, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped him that liveth for ever and ever.

Future events are supposed by St. John, as well as by Daniel and other prophets, in a beautiful figure, to be registered in *a book*, for the greater certainty of them. This book (ver. 1.) is *in the right hand of God*, to denote that as he alone directs the affairs of futurity, so he alone is able to reveal them. This book, thro' the abundance of the matter, was (9) *written within and on the back side;* as the roll of the book, which was spread before Ezekiel, (ii. 10.) was *written within and without.* It was also *sealed*, to signify that the decrees of God are inscrutable, and sealed *with seven seals*, referring to so many signal periods of prophecy. In short we should conceive of this book, that it was such an one as the ancients used, a volume or roll of a book, or more properly a volume consisting of seven volumes, so that the opening of one seal laid open the contents only of one volume. All creatures are challenged (ver. 2.) *to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof.* But (ver. 3.) *no one* (οὐδεὶς) *in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth*, neither angels, nor men, nor departed spirits, were any of them qualified to comprehend and communicate the secret purposes of God. St. John *wept much* (ver. 4.) at the sad disappointment: but who now is concerned or grieved, that he cannot understand these prophecies? However he is comforted (ver. 5.) with an assurance, that still there was one who had power and authority to reveal and accomplish the counsels of God. The Son of God, and he

(9) So in Juvenal, Sat. I. 5.

—summi plena jam margine libri,
Scriptus et in tergo, necdum finitus Orestes.

['——— and Orestes' bulky rage
Unsatisfy'd with margins closely writ,
Foams o'er the covers, and not finish'd yet.']

DRYDEN.

alone, was found worthy to be the great revealer and interpreter of his Father's oracles; (ver. 6, &c.) and he obtained this privilege by the merits of his sufferings and death. Whereupon the whole church, (ver. 8, &c.) and all the angels, (ver. 11, &c.) and all creatures (ver. 13, &c.) sing praises to God and to the Lamb for such glorious manifestations of divine providence. All this is by way of preface or introduction, to show the great dignity, importance, and excellence of the prophecies here delivered.

CHAP. VI.

1 AND I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts saying, Come, and see.

2 And I saw, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.

As the seals are opened in order, so the events follow in order too. The first seal or period (ver. 1, 2.) is memorable for conquest, and was proclaimed by the first of the four living creatures, who was like a lion, and had his station in the east. *And I saw, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.* This first period commenceth with Vespasian and Titus, who from commanding (1) in the east were advanced to the empire; and Vespasian for this reason was regarded, (2) both by Romans and foreigners, as that great prince, who was to come out of the east, and obtain dominion over the world. They

(1) Hujus (Vitellii) tempore Vespasianus *in oriente* principatum arripuit. ['In his (Vitellius') time, Vespasian seized the chief command in the east.'] Aurel. Victor, Epit. Cap. 8.

(2) Tacit. Hist. Lib. 5. p. 217. Edit. Lipsii. Sueton. in Vesp. Cap. 4. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 5. Sect. 4. p. 1283. Edit. Hudson.

went forth to conquer; for they made an entire conquest of Judea, destroying Jerusalem, and carried the Jews captive into all nations. As these prophecies were written a few years before the destruction of Jerusalem, they properly begin with some allusion to that memorable event; and a short allusion was sufficient, our Saviour himself having inlarged so much upon all the particulars. The *bow,* the *white horse,* and the *crown* are proper emblems of victory, triumph, and royalty; and the proclamation for conquest is fitly made by a creature like a lion. This period continued during the reigns of the Flavian family and the short reign of Nerva, about 28 years.

They who suppose this book to have been written in Domitian's time, some years after the destruction of Jerusalem, are obliged to give another explanation of this first seal, applicable to some subsequent event, that it may not be deemed a history of things past instead of a prophecy of things to come. Now their notion is, that this first seal exhibits a representation of the person and dignity of Christ, and of the triumphs of the Christian religion over all the powers of Paganism. At the same time they allow (as it is generally allowed) that the six first seals especially relate to Heathen Rome, and comprehend so many notable periods in the Roman history. But where then is the propriety or consistence, of understanding this first seal of Christ and the Christian religion, and the succeeding seals of successive revolutions in the Roman empire, during its pagan and unconverted state? And what good reason can be given for representing the Church in triumph and glory, at a period when it was most grievously persecuted and afflicted? Would it not have been more uniform and of a piece, and have agreed better with the series and order of true history, if they had applied this first seal to the conquests of Vespasian and Titus, and the destruction of Jerusalem; as they have applied the second seal to the wars of Trajan and Adrian with the Jews, and the third and following seals to transactions of other Roman emperors? The four living creatures have their stations, as we have shown, in the four quarters, east, west, south and north,

to denote from what part we are to look for the completion of the prophecy: and as Trajan proceeded from the *west,* Septimus Severus from the *south,* and Maximin from the *north,* what other emperor before them, besides Vespasian, came from the *east,* which was the station of the lion, who made the first proclamation? It should seem therefore that the interpretation which was first proposed is the more eligible, and indeed I cannot see how this first seal can be well explicated otherwise, consistently with the truth of history and other circumstances of the prophecy; and if this be the true interpretation, this is a farther argument that the book was more probably written in the persecutions under Nero than in those under Domitian.

3 And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come and see.

4 And there went out another horse *that was* red: and power was given to him that sat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.

The scond seal or period (ver. 3, 4.) is noted for war and slaughter, and was proclaimed by the second living creature, who was like an ox, and had his station in the west. *And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another; and there was given unto him a great sword.* This second period commenceth with Trajan, who came from the west, being (3) a Spaniard by birth, and was the first foreigner who was elevated to the imperial throne. In his reign and that of his successor Adrian there were horrid wars and slaughters, and especially between the rebellious Jews and the

(3) Ἰσπὴς ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἰταλὸς, οὐδὲ Ἰταλιώτης τις—μηδεὶς πρόσθεν ἀλλοεθνὴς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἴσχηκεν. Trajanus homo Hispanus, nec Italus erat, nec Italicus—ante eum nemo alterius nationis imperium Romanum obtinuerat. ['Trajan was a Spaniard, and neither an Italian, nor of Italian extraction. No foreigner before him had held the empire of Rome.'] Dion. Hist. 68. p. 771. Edit. Leunclav.

Romans. Dion relates, (4) that the Jews about Cyrene slew of the Romans and Greeks two hundred and twenty thousand men with the most shocking circumstances of barbarity. In Egypt also and in Cyprus they committed the like barbarities, and there perished two hundred and forty thousand men more. But the Jews were subdued in their turn by the other generals and Lucius sent against them by Trajan. Eusebius writing of the same time saith, (5) that the Jews, inflamed as it were by some violent and seditious spirit, in the first conflict gained a victory over the Gentiles, who flying to Alexandria took and killed the Jews in the city. The emperor sent Marcius Turbo against them, with great forces by sea and land; who in many battles slew many myriads of the Jews. The emperor also suspecting that they might make the like commotions in Mesopotamia ordered Lucius Quietus to expel them out of the province, who

(4) Και εν τουτῳ οι κατα Κυρηνην Ιουδαιοι—τους τε Ρωμαιους και τους Ελληνας εφθειρον,—ὡστε τας σφαγας δυο και εικοσι μυριαδας απολεσθαι. εν τε Αιγυπτῳ πολλα εδρασαν ὁμοια, και εν τῃ Κυπρῳ—και απωλοντο και εκει μυριαδες τεσσαρες και εικοσι.—αλλ' Ιουδαιους μεν αλλοι τε και Αυκιος ὑπο Τραϊανῳ πεμφθεις κατεστρεψαντο. Interim Judæi, qui circum Cyrenen habitabant—Romanos pariter atque Græcos concidunt—ita ut interierint hominum ad ducenta viginti millia. Præterea in Ægypto Cyproque—consimilia quædam perpetrarunt, ubi desiderata sunt hominum ducenta quadraginta millia.—Sed Judæi et ab aliis, et maxime a Lucio, quem Trajanus miserat, subacti sunt. ['At this time the Jews who inhabited Cyrene—slew the Romans and Greeks, so that there perished in the whole two hundred and twenty thousand. In Egypt and in Cyprus they committed like barbarities,—for they destroyed there two hundred and forty thousand. But Lucius and other generals who were sent by Trajan, subdued the Jews.'] Dion. ibid. p. 786.

(5) —ὡσπερ ὑπο πνευματος δεινου τινος και σασιωδους αναρριπισθεντες—εν τῃ πρωτῃ συμβολῃ επικρατησαι αυτων συνεβη των Ελληνων· οι και καταφυγοντες εις την Αλεξανδριαν, τους εν τῃ πολει Ιουδαιους εζωγρησαν τε και απεκτειναν.—εφ' ους ὁ αυτοκρατωρ επεμψε Μαρκιον Τερβωνα συν δυναμει πεζῃ τε και ναυτικῃ, ετι δε και ἱππικῃ· ὁς δε πολλαις μαχαις—πολλας μυριαδας Ιουδαιων—αναιρει. ὁ δε αυτοκρατωρ ὑποπλευσας και τους εν Μεσοποταμιᾳ Ιουδαιους επιθησεσθαι τοις αυτοθι, Λυκιῳ Κυητῳ προσεταξεν εκκαθαραι της επαρχιας αυτους· ὁς και παρατεταξαμενος παμπολυ πληθος των αυτοθι φονευει—velut a violento quodam et seditioso dæmone exagitati—et primo quidem conflictu forte Judæi Gentiles superaverant. Qui mox Alexandriam confugientes, Judæos qui in ea urbe degebant, captos interfecerunt. Itaque imperator Marcium Turbonem adversus eos misit cum pedestribus ac navalibus copiis, et cum equitatu. Hic multis prœliis consertis—infinita Judæorum millia—necci dedit. Sed imperator veritus ne Judæi qui Mesopotamiam habitabant, incolas perinde aggrederentur, mandavit Lucio Quieto, ut eos extra provinciæ fines deportaret. Qui instructa adversus illos acie, ingentem eorum multitudinem prostravit. [Translated in the text.] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 2.

marching against them slew a very great multitude of them there. Orosius treating of the same time saith, (6) that the Jews with an incredible commotion, made wild as it were with rage, rose at once in different parts of the earth. For throughout all Lybia they waged the fiercest wars against the inhabitants, and the country was almost desolated. Egypt also and Cyrene and Thebais they disturbed with cruel seditions. But in Alexandria they were overcome in battle. In Mesopotamia also war was made upon the rebellious Jews by the command of the emperor. So that many thousands of them were destroyed with great slaughter. They utterly destroyed Salamis, a city of Cyprus, having first murdered all the inhabitants. These things were transacted in the reign of Trajan; and in the reign of Adrian (7) was their great rebellion under their false Messiah Barchochab, and their final dispersion, after fifty of their strongest castles and nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns had been demolished, and after five hundred and eighty thousand men had been slain by the sword, besides an infinite number who had perished by famin and sickness and other casualties, with great loss and slaughter too of the Romans, insomuch that the emperor forbore the usual salutations in his letters to the senate. Here was another illustrious triumph of Christ over his enemies; and the Jews and the Romans, both the persecutors of the Christians, were remarkably made the dreadful executioners of divine vengeance upon one another. The *great sword* and the *red horse* are expressive emblems of this slaughtering and bloody period; and the proclamation for slaughter is fitly made by a creature like an ox that is destined for slaughter. This period

(6) Incredibili deinde motu, sub uno tempore Judæi, quasi rabie efferati, per diversas terrarum partes exarserunt. Nam et per totam Lybiam adversus incolas atrocissima bella gesserunt: quæ adeo tunc interfectis cultoribus desolata est—Ægyptum vero totam et Cyrenem et Thebaida cruentis seditionibus turbaverunt. In Alexandria autem commisso prælio victi et adtriti sunt. In Mesopotamia quoque rebellantibus jussu imperatoris bellum illatum est. Itaque multa millia eorum vasta cæde deleta sunt. Sane Salaminam, urbem Cypri, interfectis omnibus accolis deleverunt. [Translated in the text.] Oros. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 12. p. 487. Edit. Havercamp.

(7) Euseb. ibid. Cap. 6. Dion. ibid. Lib. 69. p. 794.

continued during the reigns of Trajan and his successors by blood or adoption about 95 years.

5 And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see. And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on had a pair of balances in his hand.

6 And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say, A measure of wheat for a peny, and three measures of barley for a peny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.

The third seal or period (ver. 5, 6.) is characterized by the strict execution of justice and judgment, and by the procuration of corn and oil and wine; and was proclaimed by the third living creature, who was like a man, and had his station in the south. *And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand. And I heard a voice in the midst of the four living creatures say, A measure of wheat for a peny, and three measures of barley for a peny, and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.* Where Grotius and others have (8) observed, that a *chœnix* of corn, the measure here mentioned, was a man's daily allowance, as a *peny* was his daily wages; so that if his daily labor could earn no more than his daily bread, without other provision for himself or his family, corn must needs bear a very high price. But whatever may be the capacity of the *chœnix*, which is difficult to be determined, as it was different in different times and countries; yet such care and such regulations about the necessaries of life imply some want and scarcity of them. Scarcity obligeth men to exactness in the price and measure of things. In short, the intent of the pro-

(8) Est autem χοινιξ tritici tantum, quanto homo sanus in diem indiget, ut ex Herodoti libro tertio et septimo observarunt eruditi, alii etiam ex Hippocrate, Diogene Laertio et Athenæo. Denarius vero tantum, quantum quoque die mereri poterat homo strenue laborans, ut videre est Matt. xx. 2, &c. [' But a *chœnix* of wheat was as much as a man in health stands daily in need of, as the learned have remarked out of the third and seventh books of Herodotus, others from Hippocrates, Diogenes, Laertius, and Athenæus. But a Denarius was as much money as a man working vigorously could earn in a day, as is manifest from Matt. xx. 2, &c.'] Grot. in locum. Vide etiam Vitring p. 259.

phecy is, that corn should be provided for the people, but it should be distributed in exact measure and proportion. This third period commenceth with Septimius Severus, who was an emperor from the south, being (9) a native of Africa. He was an (1) enactor of just and equal laws, and was very severe and implacable to offenses; he would not suffer even petty larcenies to go unpunished: as neither would Alexander Severus in the same period, who (2) was a most severe judge against thieves; and was so fond of the Christian maxim, *Whatsoever you would not have done to you, do not you to another*, that he commanded it to be engraven on the palace, and on the public buildings. These two emperors were also no less celebrated for the procuring of corn and oil and other provisions, and for supplying the Romans with them after they had experienced the want of them. They repaired the neglects of former times, and corrected the abuses of former princes. Of Septimius Severus it is said, that (3) the provision of corn, which he found very small, he so far consulted, that at his death he left a certain rate or allowance to the Roman people for seven years: and also of oil as much as for the space of five years might supply not only the uses of the city, but likewise of all Italy which might want oil. Of Alexander Severus it is also said, that (4) he took such care in pro-

(9) Septimius Severus—oriundus ex Africa.—Solus omni memoria et ante et postea ex Africa imperator fuit. ['Septimius Severus,—a native of Africa. He was the only Emperor both of those that went before or that followed, who was an African.'] Eutropius. Lib. 8. Cap. 16. Interfecto Didio Juliano, Severus Africa oriundus imperium obtinuit. ['Didius Julianus being killed, Severus a native of Africa obtained the empire.'] Ælius Spartianus in Severo. Hist. August. Scriptores VI. p. 64. Edit. Salmasii.

(1) Legum conditor longe æquabilium—implacabilis delictis—ne parva latrocinia quidem impunita patiebatur. [Translated in the text.] Aurel. Victor de Cæsar. Cap. 20.

(2) Severissimus judex contra fures—*Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris;* quam sententiam usque adeo dilexit, ut et in palatio et in publicis operibus præscribi juberet. [Translated in the text.] Lampridius in Alexandro. Hist. August. Script. VI. p. 123 et 132. Edit. Salmasii

(3) Rei frumentariæ, quam minimam repererat, ita consuluit, ut excedens vita, septem annorum canonem P. R. relinqueret. Spartian. ibid. p. 97. olei vero tantum ut per quinquennium non solum urbis usibus, sed et totius Italiæ quæ oleo egeret, sufficeret. [Translated in the text.] Spartian. in Severo, ibid. p. 73.

(4) Commeatum populi Romani sic adjuvit, ut quum frumenta Heliogabalus evertisset, vicem de propria pecunia loco suo reponeret——Oleum quod

viding for the Roman people, that the corn which Heliogabalus had wasted, he replaced out of his own money; the oil also, which Septimius Severus had given to the people, and which Heliogabalus had lessened, he restored whole as before. The color of the *black horse* befits the severity of their nature and their name, and the *balances* are the well known emblem of justice, as well as an intimation of scarcity; and the proclamation for justice and judgment, and for the procuration of corn and oil and wine, is fitly made by a creature like a man. This period continued during the reigns of the Septimian family about 42 years.

7 And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth beast say, Come, and see.

8 And I looked, and behold, a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him; and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.

The fourth seal or period (ver. 7, 8.) is distinguished by a concurrence of evils, war, and famin, and pestilence, and wild beasts; and was proclaimed by the fourth living creature, who was like an eagle, and had his station in the north. *And I looked, and behold, a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.* These are the same *four sore judgments*, with which Ezekiel (xiv. 21.) threatened Jerusalem, *the sword, and the famin, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence:* for in the oriental languages the pestilence is emphatically (5)

Severus populo dederat, quodque Heliogabalus imminuerat, integrum restituit. [Translated in the text.] Lamprid. in Alex, ibid. p. 121.

(5) Voce θανατῳ intelligendus est λοιμῳ ex Hebraismo: Nam ita דבר sumitur apud Jer. ix, 21. et xviii, 21. Sic apud Siracidem legimus xxxix.

stiled *death*. These *four* were to destroy *the fourth part* of mankind; and the image is very poetical, of *death riding on a pale horse*, and *hell* or *the grave following with him*, ready to swallow up the dead corpses. This period commenceth with Maximin, who was an emperor from the north, being (6) born of barbarous parents in a village of Thrace. He was indeed a barbarian in all respects. There was not, as an (7) historian affirms, a more cruel animal upon the earth; he was so cruel, that he was deservedly called by the name of Cyclops, Busiris, Phalaris, and the worst of tyrants. The history of his and several succeeding reigns is full of wars and murders, mutinies of soldiers, and invasions of foreign armies, rebellions of subjects, and deaths of princes. There were more than twenty emperors in the space of fifty years, and all or most of them died in war, or were murdered by their own soldiers and subjects. Besides lawful emperors, there were in the reign of Gallienus (8)

29. λιμος και θανατος, ubi itidem θανατος haud dubie pestilentiam significat. Syrus quoque tum hic tum apud Lucam λοιμος vertit מותנא. i. e. θανατος. et LXX Hebræorum דבר i. e. *pestem* vertunt θανατον, ut et Chaldæus et Latinus Lev. xxvi. 25. Horum exemplo Severus Sulpitius, Hist. I. *mortem* pro *pestilentia* posuit. ['By the word θανατῳ *death* we are to understand λοιμῳ *the pestilence*, according to the Hebrew idiom. For so מות *death* is taken, Jer. ix. 21. and xviii. 21. Thus we read in the son of Sirach, xxxix. 29. λιμος και θανατος *famine and death*, where in like manner θανατος *death* no doubt signifies the pestilence. The Syriac translator both here and in Luke, renders λοιμους *pestilences* by מומנא *deaths*. And the LXX translate the Hebrew דבר i. e. *the pestilence* by θανατον *death*, as do also the Chaldee and Latin versions of Lev. xxvi. 25. After their example Severus Sulpicius Hist. I. has put *mortem death* for *pestilentiam the pestilence*.'] Grot. in Matt. xxiv. 7.

(6) Hic de vico Thraciæ, vicino barbaris, barbaro etiam patre et matre genitus. ['He was of a town in Thrace, near to the barbarians, and descended from barbarians both by the father and the mother's side.'] Julius Capitolin. in Maximin. Hist. August. Script. VI. Edit. Salmas. p. 138. Vide etiam notas Salmas. et Casauboni. Μαξιμινος, το μεν γενος των ενδοτατων Θρακων και μιξοβαρβαρον. Max. qui quod ad genus attinet, ex intimis Thracibus, et semibarbaris erat. ['Maximinus, as to his extraction, came from the interior of Thrace, where they are half barbarians.'] Herodian. Lib. 6. p. 143. Edit. H. Steph. 1581.

(7) Neque enim fuit crudelius animal in terris—tam crudelis fuit, ut illum alii Cyclopem, alii Busiridem, alii Scironem, nonnulli Phalarim, multi Typhonem, vel Gygem vocarent. ['There was not a more cruel animal upon the earth.—He was so cruel, that some called him Cyclops, others Busiris, others Sciron, some Phalaris, many Typho, or Gyges.'] Jul. Capit. ibid. p. 141.

(8) Vide Trebell. Pollio. de triginta tyrannis. Hist. Aug. Script. VI. p. 184, &c. Edit. Salmasii.

thirty tyrants or usurpers, who set up in different parts of the empire, and came all to violent and miserable ends. Here was sufficient employment for the *sword;* and such wars and devastations must necessarily produce a *famin,* and the *famin* is another distinguishing calamity of this period. In the reign of Gallus the Scythians made such incursions, that (9) not one nation subject to the Romans were left unwasted by them, and every unwalled town, and most of the walled cities were taken by them. In the reign of Probus also (1) there was a great famin throughout the world; and for want of victuals the army mutinied, and slew him. An usual consequence of famin is the *pestilence,* and the *pestilence* is the third distinguishing calamity of this period. This pestilence, according to (2) Zonaras, arising from Ethiopia, while Gallus and Volusian were emperors, pervaded all the Roman provinces, and for fifteen years together incredibly exhausted them; and so learned a man as Lipsius declares, that he never read of any greater plague, for the space of time that it lasted, or of land that it overspread. Zosimus, speaking of the devastations of the Scythians in the reign of Gallus before mentioned, farther addeth, that (3) the pestilence not

(9) ὡςε μηδε ἑν εθνος Ρωμαιοις ὑπηκοον απορθητον ὑπο τυτων καταλειφθηναι, πασαν δε ὡς ειπειν ατειχιςον πολιν, και των ωχυρωμενων τειχεσι τας πλειυς ἁλωναι. adeo quidem, ut nulla gens Romanæ ditionis ab eis non vastata manserit, sed omnia, prope dixerim, oppida destituta mænibus, et iisdem munitorum magna pars, capta fuerint. [Translated in the text.] Zosim. in Gall. Lib. 1. Sect. 26.

(1) εγενετο λιμος κοσμικος μεγας, και μη ευρεθεντων αναλωματων, εςασιασεν ὁ ςρατος και επελθοντες εσφαξαν αυτον. fames ingens per totum orbem grassata est: annona autem deficiente, seditione in exercitu excitata, a militibus interfectus est. [Translated in the text.] Joan. Malalæ. Chronograph. p. 400. Edit. Oxon. 1691.

(2) Zonaras author est, nec cæteri tacuere, sub Gallo et Volusiano imperatoribus, *pestem* ab Æthiopia exortam omnes Romanas provincias pervasisse, et per quindecim continuos annos incredibiliter exhausisse. *Nec alia unquam major lues mihi lecta* (inquit vir nostro ævo celebris) *spatio temporum, sive terrarum.* ['Zonaras tells us, nor are other writers silent, that under the reign of Gallus and Volusian, *a pestilence* originating in Ethiopia, pervaded all the Roman provinces, and for the space of fifteen successive years, incredibly exhausted them. A celebrated author of the present age hath said, *that in the course of his reading, he had never met with a plague of so long continuance or so extensive.*'] Mede, p. 446. Zonar. in Gal. et Volus. Lipsius de Constantia. Lib. 2. Cap. 23.

(3) ουχ ἡττον δε τυ πανταχοθεν επιβρισαντος πολεμυ, και ὁ λοιμος πολεσι τε και

less pernicious than the war, destroyed whatever was left of human kind, and made such havoc as it had never done in former times. He saith also, that in the reign of Gallienus, (4) such a grievous pestilence as never happened at any time before, rendered the calamities inflicted by the barbarians more moderate. He saith afterwards too in the reign of Claudius, that (5) the pestilence seising on the Romans as well as the barbarians, many of the army died, and also Claudius the emperor. Dionysius in (6) Eusebius treating of the same time, mentions the *war* and the *famin* and the *pestilence*, as succeeding one another in their natural order. St. Cyprian too mentions (7) all the three together as troubling the world more at that time than at any other. He wrote also a (8) treatise upon this very pestilence, which he entitled *De mortalitate*, as if he had taken the name from the prophecy which had predicted it. In short, without alleging more testimonies, Eutropius af-

κωμαις επιγενομενος, ει τι λελειμμενον ην ανθρωπειον γενος διεφθειρεν, υπω προτερον εν τοις φθασασι χρονοις τοσαυτην ανθρωπων απωλειαν εργασαμενος. Neo minus bello, quod undique scaturiendo velut emerserat, lues etiam pestilens in oppidis atque vicis subsecuta, quicquid erat humani generis reliquum, absumsit: que sane nunquam superioribus sæculis tantam hominum stragem ediderat. [' And not less than the war which burst out in all directions, a pestilence brake forth in all the cities and villages, and destroyed every thing of human kind which the war had left, and wrought such havoc among men, as had never occurred in former ages.'] Zosim. ib.

(4) λοιμος επιβρισας ταις πολεσιν, οιος υπω προτερον εν παντι τω χρονω συνεβη, τας μεν υπο των βαρβαρων συμφορας μετριωτερας απεφηνε. tanta pestis in civitatibus exorta, quanta nunquam prius ullo tempore exstiterat, calamitates a barbaris illatas leviores reddidit. [' A pestilence such as never had been in any former age, burst forth in the cities, and rendered the calamities occasioned by the barbarians more moderate.'] Zosim. ibid. Sect. 37.

(5) Αψαμενη δε τη λοιμη και Ρωμαιων, απεθανον μεν πολλοι τη στρατευματος, τελευτα δε και Κλαυδιος. Sed quod in Romanos quoque pestis sævire cæpisset, cum alii complures in exercitu mortui sunt, tum etiam Claudius vivendi finem fecit. [Translated in the text.] Zosim. ibid. Sect. 46.

(6) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 22.

(7) Sed enim cum dicas, plurimos conqueri quod bella crebrius surgant, quod lues, quod fames sæviant, &c. ['But when you say, that many complain of the frequency of wars, of the ravages of pestilence and famine, &c.'] Ad Demetrianum, p. 129. Edit. Felli. Quod autem crebrius bella continuant, quod sterilitas et fames solicitudinem cumulant, quod sævientibus morbis valetudo frangitur, quod humanum genus luis populatione vastatur, &c. [' That wars continue to be more frequent, that sterility and famine add to our anxiety, that our health is impaired by the ravages of diseases, that the human race is wasted by the pestilence, &c.'] Ibid. p. 130.

(8) Vide Edit. Felli. p. 110.

firms of Gallus and Volusian, that (9) their reign was remarkable only for the pestilence and diseases and sickness. Orosius (1) asserts much the same thing: and Trebellius Pollio likewise (2) informs us, that in the reign of Gallienus the pestilence was so great that five thousand men died in one day. When the countries lie thus uncultivated, uninhabited, unfrequented, the *wild beasts* multiply, and come into the towns to devour men; which is the fourth distinguishing calamity of this period. This would appear a probable consequence of the former calamities, if history had recorded nothing of it: but we read in history that (3) five hundred wolves together entered into a city, which was deserted by its inhabitants, and where the young Maximin chanced to be. It is well known, that the Heathens maliciously ascribed all public calamities to the Christians, and among them we find objected (4) the wars which they were obliged to wage with lions and wild beasts; as we may collect from Arnobius, who wrote soon after this time. The color of the *pale horse* is very suitable to the mortality of this period; and the proclamation for death and destruction is fitly made by a creature like an eagle that watches for carcases. This period continued from Maximin to Diocletian about fifty years.

9 And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held.

(9) Sola pestilentia, et morbis, atque ægritudinibus notus eorum principatus fuit. [Translated in the text.] Eutrop. Lib. 9. Cap. 5.

(1) Hac sola pernicie insignes Gallus et Volusianus. ['Gallus and Volusian have been remarkable for these miseries alone.'] Oros. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 21.

(2) Pestilentia tanta exstiterat, ut uno die quinque millia hominum perirent. [Translated in the text.] Trebell. Pollio in Gall. p. 177. ibid.

(3) Lupi urbem quingenti simul ingressi sunt, in quam se Maximinus contulerat——quæ deserta a civibus venienti Maximino patuit. ['Five hundred wolves at once, entered a city into which Maximin had betaken himself. That city deserted by its inhabitants, had its gates standing open to that prince when he came to it.'] Julius Capitolin, in Max. Jun. p. 150. ibid.

(4) Quando cum feris bella, et prælia cum leonibus gesta sunt? Non ante nos? ['When had we wars with wild beasts, and battles with lions? was it not so in former times?'] Arnob. advers. Gentes. Lib. 1. p. 5. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

10 And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?

11 And white robes were given unto every one of them, and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.

The following seals have nothing extrinsecal, like the proclamation of the living creatures, to determin from what quarter we must expect their completion; but they are sufficiently distinguished by their internal marks and characters. The fifth seal or period is remarkable for a dreadful persecution of the Christians, who are represented (ver. 9.) lying *under the altar*, (for the scene is still in the tabernacle or temple) as sacrifices newly slain and offered to God. They *cry aloud* (ver. 10.) for the Lord to *judge and avenge* their cause; that is, the cruelties exercised upon them were of so barbarous and atrocious a nature, as to deserve and provoke the vengeance of the Lord. *White robes are given unto every one of them* (ver. 11.) as a token of their justification and acceptance with God; and they are exhorted to *rest for a season*, till the number of the martyrs be completed, when they shall receive their full reward, as we shall see hereafter. Where Mr. Lowman (5) observes very well, that "this representation seems much to favor the "immediate happiness of departed saints, and hardly "to consist with that uncomfortable opinion, the insen- "sible state of departed souls, till after the resurrection." There were other persecutions before, but this was by far the most considerable, the tenth and last general persecution which was begun by Diocletian, and continued by others, and lasted longer, and extended farther, and was sharper and more bloody than any or all preceding; and therefore this was particularly predicted. Eusebius and Lactantius, who were two eye-witnessess, have (6)

(5) See Lowman on the Rev. p. 51.

(6) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 8. cum supplemento. Lactantius de Mortibus Persecut. Cap. 7, &c.

written large accounts of it. Orosius (7) asserts, that this persecution was longer and more cruel than all the past; for it raged incessantly for ten years by burning the churches, proscribing the innocent, and slaying the martyrs. Sulpicius Severus too (8) describes it as the most bitter persecution, which for ten years together depopulated the people of God: at which time all the world almost was stained with the sacred blood of the martyrs, and was never more exhausted by any wars. So that this became a memorable æra to the Christians, under the name of the æra of Diocletian, or as it is otherwise called the æra of martyrs.

12 And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake, and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood.

13 And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs when she is shaken of a mighty wind:

14 And the heaven departed as a scrole when it is rolled together; and every mountain and iland were moved out of their places:

15 And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty-men, and every bond-man, and every free-man hid themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains:

16 And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:

17 For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?

(7) —quæ persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque immanior fuit. Nam per decem annos incendiis ecclesiarum, proscriptionibus innocentum, cædibus martyrum, incessabiliter acta est. [Translated in the text.] Oros. Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 25. p. 528. Edit. Havercamp.

(8) Acerbissima persecutio, quæ per decem continuos annos plebem Dei depopulata est; qua tempestate omnis fere sacro martyrum cruore orbis intectus est:—Nullis unquam magis bellis mundus exhaustus est. [Translated in the text.] Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacr. Lib. 2. p. 99. Edit. Elzevir 1656.

The sixth seal or period produceth mighty changes and revolutions, which according to the prophetic stile are expressed by great commotions in the earth and in the heavens. The very same images, the very same expressions are employed by other prophets concerning the mutations and alterations of religions and governments; and why may they not therefore with equal fitness and propriety be applied to one of the greatest and most memorable revolutions which ever were in the world, the subversion of the heathen religion, and establishment of the Christian, which was begun by Constantine the great, and was completed by his successors? The series of the prophecy requires this application, and all the phrases and expressions will easily admit of such a construction. *And I beheld when he had opened the sixth* seal, (ver. 12.) *and lo, there was* σεισμος μεγας *a great earthquake*, or rather *a great concussion*; for the word in the original comprehends the shaking of *heaven* as well as of *earth*. The same phrase is used by the prophet Haggai (ii. 6. 21.) concerning the first coming of Christ, *I will shake the heavens and the earth*: and this shaking, as the apostle saith, (Heb. xii. 27.) *signifieth the removing of those things which are shaken*; and so the prophet Haggai himself explains it, *I will shake the heavens and the earth, And I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the Heathen*; And where was ever a greater concussion or removal, than when Christianity was advanced to the throne of Paganism, and Idolatry gave place to the true religion? Then follow the particular effects of this general concussion, (ver. 12, 13, 14.) *And the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood; And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs when she is shaken of a mighty wind; And the heavens departed as a scrole when it is rolled together; and every mountain and iland were moved out of their places.* Isaiah speaketh much in the same manner concerning Babylon and Idumea; (xiii. 10. xxxiv. 4.) *For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be dark-*

ened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine: And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scrole; and all their host shall fall down as the leaf falleth off from the vine, and as a falling fig from the fig-tree: And Jeremiah concerning the land of Judah, (iv. 23, 24.) *I beheld the earth, and lo, it was without form and void: and the heavens and they had no light: I beheld the mountains, and lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly:* And Ezekiel concerning Egypt, (xxxii. 7.) *And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light:* And Joel concerning Jerusalem, (ii. 10. 31.) *The earth shall quake before them, the heavens shall tremble, the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining: the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come:* And our Saviour himself also concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, (Matt. xxiv. 29.) *The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.* Now it is certain, that the fall of any of these cities and kingdoms was not of greater concern and consequence to the world, nor more deserving to be described in such pompous figures, than the fall of the Pagan Roman empire, when the great lights of the heathen world, the *sun, moon, and stars,* the powers civil and ecclesiastical, were all eclipsed and obscured, the heathen emperors and Cæsars were slain, the heathen priests and augurs were extirpated, the heathen officers and magistrates were removed, the heathen temples were demolished, and their revenues appropriated to better uses. It is customary with the prophets, after they have described a thing in the most symbolical and figurative diction, to represent the same again in plainer language: and the same method is observed here, (ver. 15, 16, 17.) *And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond-man, and every free-man,* that is

Maximian, Galerius, Maximin, Maxentius, Licinius, &c. with all their adherents and followers, were so routed and dispersed, that they *hid themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains, and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us;* expressions used, as in other prophets, (Is. ii. 19, 21. Hos. x. 8. Luke xxiii. 30.) to denote the utmost terror and consternation; *Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?* This is therefore a triumph of Christ over his heathen enemies, and a triumph after a severe persecution; so that the time and all the circumstances, as well as the series and order of the prophecy, agree perfectly with this interpretation. (9) Galerius, (1) Maximin, and (2) Licinius made even a public confession of their guilt, recalled their degrees and edicts against the Christians, and acknowleged the just judgments of God and of Christ in their destruction.

CHAP. VII.

1 AND after these things, I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree.

2 And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea,

3 Saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads.

(9) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 8. Cap. 17. De Vita Constant. Lib. 1. Cap. 57. Lactantius de Mort. Persecut. Cap. 33, &c.

(1) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 9. Cap. 9, 10, 11. De Vita Const. Lib. 1. Cap. 59. Lactant. ibid. Cap. 49.

(2) Euseb. de Vita Constant. Lib. 2. Cap. 18.

4 And I heard the number of them which were sealed: *and there were* sealed an hundred *and* forty *and* four thousand, of all the tribes of the children of Israel.

5 Of the tribe of Juda *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Reuben *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Gad *were* sealed twelve thousand.

6 Of the tribe of Aser *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Nephthalim *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Manasses *were* sealed twelve thousand.

7 Of the tribe of Simeon *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Levi *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Isachar *were* sealed twelve thousand.

8 Of the tribe of Zabulon *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Joseph *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Benjamin *were* sealed twelve thousand.

9 After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, cloathed with white robes, and palms in their hands;

10 And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.

11 And all the angels stood round about the throne, and *about* the elders, and the four beasts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God,

12 Saying, Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might *be* unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.

13 And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they?

14 And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

15 Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on his throne shall dwell among them.

16 They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat.

17 For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

What follows in this chapter is still a continuation of the sixth seal, for the seventh seal is not opened till the beginning of the next chapter. It is a description of the state of the church in Constantine's time, of the peace and protection that it should enjoy under the civil powers, and of the great accession that should be made to it both of Jews and Gentiles. *Four angels* (ver. 1, 2, 3.) are ordered by another angel to restrain *the four winds* from blowing with violence on any part of the world; to show that these were halcyon days, wherein the former wars and persecutions should cease, and peace and tranquillity be restored for a season. Eusebius is very copious upon this subject in several parts of his writings; and hath (3) applied that passage of the Psalmist in the version of the Seventy, (Psal. xlvi. 8, 9.) *Come hither, and behold the works of the Lord, what wonders he hath wrought in the earth: He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth, he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear asunder, he burneth the chariot in the fire;* which things, saith he, being manifestly fulfilled in our times, we rejoice

(3) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 20. Cap. 1. ἐφ' οἷς ἡμᾶς ἐναργῶς πεπληρωμένοις χαίροντες——Quæ cum omnia nostris temporibus manifestè completa sint, læti deinceps et gratulabundi. ['Over which things as manifestly fulfilled in our time, we greatly rejoice.']

over them. Lactantius also (4) saith in the same triumphant strain, that 'tranquillity being restored throughout 'the world, the church which was lately ruined riseth 'again. Now after the violent agitations of so great a 'tempest, a calm air and the desired light become resplendent. Now God hath relieved the afflicted. Now he 'hath wiped away the tears of the sorrowful.' These are testimonies of contemporary writers; and some (5) medals of Constantine are still preserved with the head of this emperor on one side and this inscription CONSTANTINUS AUG. and on the reverse BEATA TRANQUILLITAS, *Blessed Tranquillity.* During this time of tranquillity *the servants of God were to be sealed in their foreheads.* It is an expression in allusion to the ancient custom of marking servants in their foreheads to distinguish what they were, and to whom they belonged. Now among Christians baptism being the seal of the covenant between God and man, is therefore by ancient writers (6) often called the *seal,* the *sign,* the *mark* and *character* of the Lord: and it was the (7) practice in early times, as it is at present, to make the sign of the cross upon the foreheads of the parties baptized. The same sign of the cross was also made at confirmation; and upon many other occasions the Christians signed themselves with the sign of the cross in their foreheads, as a token that they were not ashamed of a crucified Master, that on the contrary they gloried in the cross of Christ, and triumphed in that symbol and representation of it. The *sealing* therefore *of the servants of God in their foreheads* at this juncture can imply no less, than that many converts should be baptized, and those, who before, in times of persecution, had been compelled to worship God in private, should now make a free, open, and public profession of their religion; and

(4) Restituta per orbem tranquillitate, profligata nuper ecclesia rursum exsurgit.—Nunc post tantæ tempestatis violentos turbines placidus aer et optata lux refulsit. Nunc Deus afflictos sublevavit. Nunc mœrentium lachrymas detersit. [Translated in the text.] Lactantius de Mort. Persecut. Cap. 1.

(5) See Daubuz. p. 311.

(6) See Mede, p. 511. Bingham's Antiquities, B. 11. Ch. 1. Sect. 6 et 7.

(7) See Cave's Primitive Christianity, Part 1. Ch. 10. Bingham, ibid. Ch. 9. Sect. 4, &c.

that such an accession was made to the church, every one knoweth who knoweth any thing of the history of this time.

As the church of Christ was first formed out of the Jewish church and nation, so here (ver. 4—8.) the spiritual Israel is first mentioned; and the number of the thousands of Israel is that of the twelve patriarchs multiplied by the twelve apostles, which we shall find to be a sacred number throughout the Revelation. But the twelve tribes are not enumerated here in the same method and order, as they are in other places of holy scripture. Judah hath the first rank and precedence, because from him descended the Messiah. Dan is entirely omitted, and Ephraim is not mentioned, because they were the principal promoters of idolatry, and therefore Levi is substituted in the room of the one, and Joseph is mentioned instead of the other. The children too of the bond-women and of the free-women are confounded together, there being (Gal. iii. 28.) *in Christ Jesus neither bond nor free.* Besides some of all the tribes of Israel, there was *an innumerable multitude of all nations and tongues, cloathed with white robes, and palms in their hands,* (ver. 9, 10.) who received and embraced the gospel: and as Sulpicius Severus (8) says, it is wonderful how much the Christian religion prevailed at that time. The historians, who have written of this reign, (9) relate how even the most remote and barbarous nations were converted to the faith, Jews as well as Gentiles. One historian in particular (1) affirms, that at the time when Constantine took possession of Rome after the death of Maxentius, there were baptized more than twelve thousand Jews and Heathens, besides women and children. The angels also (ver. 11,

(8) Hoc temporum tractu mirum est quantum invaluerit religio Christiana. [Translated in the text.] Sulpic. Sever. Sacr. Hist. Lib. 2. p. 100. Edit. Elzevir, 1656.

(9) Socrates Hist. Eccles. Lib. 1. Cap. 18, 19, 20. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 2. Cap. 5, 6, 7, 8, &c. &c.

(1) Hoc tempore Romæ baptizati sunt e Judæis et Idololatris ultra duodecim hominum millia, præter mulieres et pueros. ['At this time were baptized at Rome, of Jews and Idolaters, upwards of twelve thousand men, besides women and children.'] Abul Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 7. p. 85. Vers. Pocockii. Vide etiam Epiphanii Hæres. 30. Sect. 4, &c. p. 127. Vol. 1. Edit. Petavii.

12.) join in the celebration of God upon this occasion: for if *there is joy* (Luke xv. 10.) *in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth,* much more may those heavenly spirits rejoice at the conversion of whole countries and nations. Then one of the elders (ver. 13—17.) explains to St. John some particulars relating to this innumerable multitude of all nations. They have *palms in their hands,* as tokens of their victory and triumph over tribulation and persecution. They are *arrayed in white robes,* as emblems of their sanctity and justification through the merits and death of Christ. They are, like the children of Israel, arrived at their Canaan or land of rest, and they shall no more suffer *hunger* or *thirst,* or *heat,* as they did in the wilderness. They are now happily freed from all their former troubles and molestations; and their heathen adversaries shall no more prevail against them. This period we may suppose to have continued with some little interruption, from the reign of Constantine the great to the death of Theodosius the great, about 70 years.

CHAP. VIII.

1 AND when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour.

2 And I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets.

3 And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given him much incense, that he should offer *it* with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne.

4 And the smoke of the incense, *which came* with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God, out of the angel's hand.

5 And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth: and

there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake.

6 And the seven angels which had the seven trumpets, prepared themselves to sound.

The seventh seal or period is of much longer duration, and comprehends many more events than any of the former seals. It comprehends indeed seven periods distinguished by the sounding of seven trumpets. At the opening of this seal (ver. 1.) *there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour.* This *silence of half an hour* is a sign that the peace of the church would continue but for a short season. It is an interval and pause as it were between the foregoing and the succeeding visions. It is a mark of solemnity, to procure attention, and to prepare the mind for great and signal events; and not without an allusion to a ceremony among the Jews. Philo (2) informs us, the incense used to be offered before the morning, and after the evening sacrifice: and while the sacrifices were made, (2 Chron. xxix. 25—28.) the voices and instruments, and trumpets sounded; while the priest went into the temple to burn incense, (Luke i. 10.) all were silent, and the people prayed without to themselves. Now this was the morning of the church, and therefore the silence precedes the sounding of the trumpets. It was necessary before the trumpets could be sounded, that they should be *given* (ver. 2.) to the seven archangels, who were to execute the will of God, and to sound the trumpets each in his season. At the same time (ver. 3, 4, 5.) *another angel,* like the priest, *having a golden censer,* offereth incense *with the prayers of all saints;* and then filleth the censer *with fire of the altar, and casteth it into the earth;* as in Ezekiel (x. 2.) *coals of fire* are taken *from between the cherubim,* and scattered over Jerusalem, to denote the judgments of God to be executed upon that city. Whereupon immediately ensue *voices,*

(2) —προ τε της ἑωθινης θυσιας και μετα την ἑσπερινην— ante matutinum et post vespertinum sacrificium. [' Before the morning and after the evening sacrifice.'] Philo de Victimis. p. 836. Edit. Paris. 1640.

and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake, the usual prophetic signs and preludes of great calamities and commotions upon earth. Then the angels (ver. 6.) *prepare themselves to sound:* and as the *seals* foretold the state and condition of the Roman empire before and till it became Christian, so the *trumpets* foreshow the fate and condition of it afterwards. *The sound of the trumpet,* as Jeremiah (iv. 19.) says, and as every one understands it, is *the alarm of war:* and the sounding of these trumpets is designed to rouse and excite the nations against the Roman empire, called *the third part* of the world, as perhaps including the third part of the world, and being seated principally in Europe, the third part of the world at that time.

7 The first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth: and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up.

At the sounding of the first trumpet (ver. 7.) the barbarous nations, like a storm of *hail and fire mingled with blood,* invade the Roman territories; and destroy *the third part of trees,* that is the trees of the third part of the earth, and *the green grass,* that is both old and young, high and low, rich and poor together. Theodosius the great died in the year 395; and no sooner was he dead, than the (3) Huns, Goths, and other barbarians, like hail for multitude, and breathing fire and slaughter, broke in upon the best provinces of the empire both in the east and west, with greater success than they had ever done before. But by this trumpet, I conceive, were principally intended the irruptions and depredations of the Goths (4) under the conduct of the famous Alaric, who began his incursions in the same year 395, first ravaged Greece, then wasted Italy, besieged Rome, and

(3) Socratis Eccles. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 1. Sozomen. Lib. 8. Cap. 1. Zosimi Hist. Lib. 5 et 6. Pauli Orosii Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 37, &c. Car. Sigonii Hist. de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 10.

(4) Zosim. Oros. Sigon. ibid. &c. Philostorgius, Lib. 11 et 12.

was bought off at an exorbitant price, besieged it again in the year 410, took and plundered the city, and set fire to it in several places. Philostorgius, who lived in and wrote of these times, (5) saith that 'the sword of 'the barbarians destroyed the greatest multitude of 'men; and among other calamities dry heats with 'flashes of flame and whirlwinds of fire occasioned va-'rious and intolerable terrors; yea, and hail greater 'than could be held in a man's hand fell down in several 'places, weighing as much as eight pounds.' Well therefore might the prophet compare these incursions of the barbarians *to hail and fire mingled with blood.* Claudian in like manner compares them to (6) a storm of *hail* in his poem on this very war. Jerome also (7) saith of some of these barbarians, 'that they came on 'unexpectedly every where, and marching quicker than 'report, spared not religion, nor dignities, nor age, nor 'had compassion on crying infants; those were com-'pelled to die, who had not yet begun to live.' So truly did they destroy the *trees* and the *green grass* together.

8 And the second angel sounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into

(5) βαρβαρικη μεν γαρ το της φθορας πληθος ειργαζετο μαχαιρα.—αυχμοι φλογωδεις, πρηστηρες τε εισιν οις εμβαλλομενοις, ποικιλον τε το δεινον εποιουν και αφορητον· και δη και χαλαζα μειζων η κατα χερμαδα πολλαχη γης κατεφερετο, αχρι γαρ και οκτω των λεγομενων λιτρων ελκυσα βαρος ωφθη κατασκηψασα. Nam et barbaricus ensis maximam hominum multitudinem delevit; —siccitates flammeæ, et ignis turbines cælitus immissi, multiplicem atque intolerabilem intulerunt calamitatem. Sed et grando, lapide manum implente major, multis in locis decidit. Deprehensa enim est alicubi, quæ octo librarum, ut vocant, pondus æquaret. [Translated in the text.] Philostorgii Hist. Eccles. Lib. 11. Cap. 7.

(6) Claudian de Bello Getico. ver. 173.

Ex illo, quocunque vagos impegit Erinnys,
Grandinis aut morbi ritu per devia rerum
Præcipites, per clausa, ruunt.

['Wheresoever the Fury dashed these rovers, like hail, or a disease, they rushed headlong through all barriers opposed to them.'] Where Mr. Daubuz would read *nimbi, a shower*, instead of *morbi, a disease*,

(7) Insperati ubique aderant, et famam celeritate vincentes, non religioni, non dignitatibus, non ætati parcebant, non vagientis miserabuntur infantiæ. Cogebantur mori, qui nondum vivere cœperant. [Translated in the text.] Hieron. Epist. 84. de morte Fabiolæ. Col. 661. Tom. 4. Par. 2. Edit. Benedict.

the sea; and the third part of the sea became blood:

9 And the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed.

At the sounding of the second trumpet (ver. 8, 9.) *as it were a great mountain burning with fire,* that is a great warlike nation or hero, (for in the (8) stile of poetry, which is near akin to the stile of prophecy, heroes are compared to mountains;) *cast into the sea, turneth the third part of it into blood, and destroyeth the fishes and the ships therein;* that is, falling on the Roman empire, maketh a sea of blood, with horrible destruction of the cities and inhabitants: for *waters,* as the angel afterwards (xvii. 15.) explains them to St. John, *are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues,* and *the third part* is all along the Roman empire; for it possessed in Asia and Africa, as much as it wanted in Europe to make up the third part of the world, and the principal part was in Europe, the third part of the world at that time. The next great ravagers after Alaric and his Goths were Attila and his Huns, who for the space of fourteen years, as (9) Sigonius says, shook the east and west with the most cruel fear, and deformed the provinces of each empire with all kind of plundering,

(8) So Virgil of his hero. Æn. xii 701.

Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse coruscis
Cum fremit ilicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
Vertice se attollens pater Apenninus ad auras.

[Like Eryx, or like Athos, great he shows,
Or father Apennine, when, white with snows,
His head divine obscure in clouds he hides,
And shakes the sounding forest on his sides.]
DRYDEN.

(9) Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 13. Hunnica jam hinc bella scribere ordiemur, quæ post per quatuordecim annos sævissima orientem, occidentemque formidine concusserunt, atque utriusque imperii provincias omni direptione, strage, atque incendio deformarunt. ['Here we shall begin our account of the wars of the Huns, which for fourteen years shook the east and west with the most cruel terror, and which by plundering, slaughtering, and burning, disfigured the provinces of both empires.']

slaughter, and burning. They (1) first wasted Thrace, Macedon and Greece, putting all to fire and sword, and compelled the eastern emperor, Theodosius the second, to purchase a shameful peace. Then Attila turned his arms against the western emperor, Valentinian the third; entered Gaul with seven hundred thousand men, and not content with taking and spoiling, set most of the cities on fire. But at length being there vigorously opposed, he fell upon Italy, took and destroyed Aquileia with several other cities, slaying the inhabitants, and laying the buildings in ashes, and (2) filled all places between the Alps and Apennine with flight, depopulation, slaughter, servitude, burning, and desperation. He was preparing to march to Rome, but was diverted from his purpose by a solemn embassy from the emperor, and the promise of an annual tribute; and so concluding a truce, retired out of Italy, and passed into his own dominions beyond the Danube. Such a man might properly be compared to *a great mountain burning with fire,* who really was, as he called himself, (3) *the scourge of God, and the terror of men,* and boasted that he was sent into the world by God for this purpose, that as the executioner of his just anger he might fill the earth with all kinds of evils, and he bounded his cruelty and passion by nothing less than blood and burning.

10 And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters:

11 And the name of the star is called Wormwood: and the third part of the waters became

(1) Sigonius ibid. Jornandes de rebus Get. &c. &c,

(2) Jam omnia, quæ intra Apenninum et Alpes erant, fuga, populatione, cæde, servitute, incendio, et desperatione repleta erant. [Translated in the text.] Sigon. ibid. Ann. 452.

(3) Qui se Flagellum Dei, et Terrorem hominum appellabat, et ad id in mundum a Deo missum jactabat, ut tanquam justæ illius vindex iræ terras omni malorum genere permisceret, et crudelitatem ac libidinem suam non nisi sanguine et incendio terminabat. [Translated in the Text.] Sigon. ibid.

wormwood: and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter.

At the sounding of the third trumpet (ver. 10, 11.) a great prince appears like *a star shooting from heaven to earth;* a similitude not (4) unusual in poetry. His coming therefore is sudden and unexpected, and his stay but short. *The name of the star is called Wormwood,* and he infects *the third part of the rivers and fountains with the bitterness of wormwood;* that is, he is a bitter enemy, and proveth the author of grievous calamities to the Roman empire. The *rivers* and *fountains* have a near connection with the *sea:* and it was within two years after Attila's retreat from Italy, that Valentinian was murdered, and Maximus who had caused him to be murdered reigning in his stead, (5) Genseric the king of the Vandals settled in Africa was solicited by Eudoxia the widow of the deceased emperor, to come and revenge his death. Genseric accordingly embarked with three hundred thousand Vandals and Moors, and arrived upon the Roman coast in June 455, the emperor and people not expecting nor thinking of any such enemy. He landed his men, and marched directly towards Rome; whereupon the inhabitants flying into the woods and mountains, the city fell an easy prey into his hands. He abandoned it to the cruelty and avarice of his soldiers, who plundered it for fourteen days together, not only spoiling the private houses and palaces, but stripping the public buildings, and even the churches of their riches and ornaments. He then set sail again for Africa, carrying away with him immense

(4) Homer. Iliad iv. 75.

Οἷον δ' ἀστερα ἦκε Κρονω παις αγκυλομητεω,
Η ναυτῃσι τερας, ἠ στρατῳ ευρεϊ λαων,
Λαμπον· τυ δε τε πολλοι απο σπινθηρες ἱενται.

['As the red comet from Saturnius sent
To fright the nations with a dire portent,
With sweeping glories glides along in air,
And shakes the sparkles from its blazing hair.']

(5) Evagrii Hist. Eccles. Lib. 2. Cap. 7. Zonaræ Annal. Lib. 13. in fine. Sigonius de Imperio Occidentali, Lib. 14. An. 455, &c. &c.

wealth and an innumerable multitude of captives, together with the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters; and left the state so weakened, that in a little time it was utterly subverted. Some critics understand *rivers* and *fountains* with relation to doctrins; and in this sense the application is still very proper to Genseric, who was a most bigotted Arian, and during his whole reign most cruelly persecuted the orthodox Christians. Victor Uticensis, or Vitensis as he is more usually called, who (6) wrote in three books the history of this persecution by the Vandals, speaking of St. Austin (7) hath used this very same metaphor, of the river of his eloquence being dried up, and his sweetness turned into *the bitterness of wormwood.*

12 And the fourth angel sounded, and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise.

At the sounding of the fourth trumpet (ver. 12.) *the third part of the sun, moon, and stars,* that is the great lights of the Roman empire, are eclipsed and *darkened,* and remain in darkness for some time. Genseric left the western empire in a weak and desperate condition. It struggled hard, and gasped as it were for breath, through (8) eight short and turbulent reigns, for the space of twenty years, and at length expired in the year 476 under Momyllus, or Augustulus as he was named in derision, being a diminutive Augustus. This change

(6) Vossius de Hist. Latinis. Lib. 2. Cap. 18. Hofmanni Lex.

(7) Tunc illud eloquentiæ, quod ubertim per omnes campos ecclesiæ decurrebat, ipso metu siccatum est flumen; atque dulcedo suavitatis dulcius propinata, in *amaritudinem absinthii* versa est. ['Then that river of eloquence, which flowed in such abundance through all the fields of the church, was dried up through very fear, and his melodious sweetness was changed into the *bitterness of wormwood.*'] Victor Vit. de Persecut. Vandal. Lib. 1. n. 3. Vide etiam Vitam Augustini, Lib. 8. Cap. 11. Sect. 2. Edit. Benedict.

(8) Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 14 et 15 in initio.

was effected by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who coming to Rome with an army of barbarians, stripped Momyllus of the imperial robes, put an end to the very name of the western empire, and caused himself to be proclaimed king of Italy. His kingdom indeed was of no long duration; for after a reign of sixteen years he was overcome and slain (9) in the year 493 by Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, who founded the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy, which continued about sixty years under his successors. Thus was the Roman *sun* extinguished in the western emperor; but the other lesser luminaries, the *moon* and *stars*, still subsisted; for Rome was still allowed to have her senate, and consuls, and other subordinate magistrates as before. Odoacer (1) at first suppressed them, but after two or three years restored them again. Theodoric (2) changed none of the Roman institutes; he retained the senate, and consuls, and patricians, and all the ancient magistrates, and committed those offices only to Romans. These lights, we may suppose, shone more faintly under barbarian kings than under Roman emperors; but they were not totally suppressed and extinguished, till after the kingdom of the Ostrogoths was destroyed by the emperor of the east's lieutenants, and Italy was made a province of the eastern empire. Longinus was (3) sent then in the year 566 by the emperor Justin II. to govern Italy with absolute authority: and he changed the whole form of the government, abolished the senate, and consuls, and all the former magistrates in Rome and Italy, and in every city of note constituted a new governor with the title of Duke. He himself presided over all; and residing at Ravenna, and not at Rome, he was called the

(9) Sigonius ibid. Lib. 15. in fine. Procop. de Bell. Goth. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

(1) Sigonius ibid. Lib. 15. Ann. 476 et 479.

(2) Jam vero nullum Romanum institutum mutavit: siquidem et senatum, et consules, patricios,—cæterosque qui fuerant in imperio, magistratus retinuit, eosque Romanis hominibus tantum mandavit. ['But he changed no Roman institute; for he retained the senate, the consuls, the patricians, and all the ancient magistrates, and he bestowed these offices on such only as were Romans.'] Sigonius ibid. Lib. 16. Ann. 494.

(3) Sigonii Hist. de Regno Italiæ, Lib. 1. Blondi Decad. primæ, Lib. 8.

Exarch of Ravenna, as were also his successors in the same office. Rome was degraded to the same level with other places, and from being the queen of cities and empress of the world was reduced to a poor dukedom, and made tributary to Ravenna which she had used to govern.

13 And I beheld, and heard an angel flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe to the inhabiters of the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to sound.

Notice is then proclaimed by an angel (ver. 13.) that the three other trumpets sound to still greater and more terrible plagues, and are therefore distinguished from the former by the name of *woes*. The design of this messenger is to raise our attention to the following trumpets; and the following we shall find to be more strongly marked than the foregoing. The foregoing relate chiefly to the downfall of the western empire; the two following relate chiefly to the downfall of the eastern empire. The foregoing are described more succinctly, and contain a less compass of time; the following are set forth with more particular circumstances, and are of longer duration as well as of larger description.

CHAP. IX.

1 AND the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.

2 And he opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace: and the sun and the air were darkened, by reason of the smoke of the pit.

3 And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth; and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power.

4 And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree; but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads.

5 And to them it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their torment *was* as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man.

6 And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.

7 And the shapes of the locusts *were* like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads *were* as it were crowns like gold, and their faces *were* as the faces of men.

8 And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the *teeth* of lions.

9 And they had breast-plates, as it were breast-plates of iron; and the sound of their wings *was* as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.

10 And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails: and their power was to hurt men five months.

11 And they had a king over them, *which is* the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue *is* Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath *his* name Apollyon.

12 One woe is past, *and* behold, there come two woes more hereafter.

At the sounding of the fifth trumpet (ver. 1, 2, 3.) *a star fallen from heaven*, meaning the wicked impostor Mohammed, *opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, and the sun and the air were darkened* by it; that is, a false religion was set up, which filled the world with darkness and error; and swarms of Saracen or Arabian *locusts* overspread the earth. A false prophet is very fitly typified by a blazing *star* or meteor. The Arabians likewise are properly compared to *locusts*,

not only because numerous armies frequently are so, but also because swarms of locusts often arise from Arabia: and also because in the plagues of Egypt, to which constant allusion is made in these trumpets, *the locusts,* (Exod. x. 13.) are *brought by an east-wind,* that is from from Arabia, which lay eastward of Egypt: and also because in the book of Judges (vii. 12.) the people of Arabia are compared to *locusts* or *grashoppers for multitude,* for in the original the word for both is the same. As the natural locusts (4) are bred in pits and holes of the earth, so these mystical locusts are truly *infernal,* and proceed with the smoke *from the bottomless pit.* It is too a remarkable coincidence that at this time *the sun and the air were* really *darkened.* For we learn from an (5) eminent Arabian historian, that 'in the seventeenth 'year of Heraclius half the body of the sun was eclipsed, 'and this defect continued from the former Tisrin to 'Haziran, (that is from October to June) so that only a 'little of its light appeared.' The seventeenth year of Heraclius (6) coincides with the year of Christ 626, and with the fifth year of the Hegira; and at this time Mohammed was training and exercising his followers in depredations at home, to fit and prepare them for greater conquests abroad.

It was commanded them (ver. 4.) *that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree;* which demonstrates that these were not natural, but symbolical locusts. The like injunctions were given to the Arabian officers and soldiers. When Yezid was marching with the army to invade Syria, Abubeker charged him (7) with this among other orders; "Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn; "cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle,

(4) Vide Gesner. de Insect. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 11. Cap. 29. Sect. 35. Edit. Harduin.

(5) Anno Heraclii decimo septimo dimidium corporis solaris lumine defecit, mansitque ejus deliquium a Tisrin priori ad Haziran, adeo ut non appareret nisi parum quid de lumine ipsius. [Translated in the text.] Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 8. p. 99. Vers. Pocockii.

(6) Blair's Chron. Tab. N° 33. Abul-Pharajii Dyn. 9. p. 102. Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 2. p. 6.

(7) Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens. Vol. 1. p. 25.

"only such as you kill to eat." Their commission is to *hurt only those men who have not the seal of God in their foreheads;* that is those who are not the true servants of God but are corrupt and idolatrous Christians. Now from history it appears evidently, that in those countries of Asia, Africa. and Europe, where the Saracens extended their conquests, the Christians were generally guilty of idolatry in the worshipping of saints, if not of images; and it was the pretence of Mohammed and his followers to chastise them for it, and to re-establish the unity of the Godhead. The parts which remained the freest from the general infection were Savoy, Piedmont, and the southern parts of France, which were afterwards the nurseries and habitations of the Waldenses and Albigenses; and it is very memorable, that (8) when the Saracens approached these parts, they were defeated with great slaughter by the famous Charles Martel in several engagements.

As they were to hurt only the corrupt and idolatrous Christians, so these (ver. 5, 6.) they were not to *kill* but only to *torment,* and should bring such calamities upon the earth, as should make men weary of their lives. Not that it could be supposed that the Saracens would not *kill* many thousands in their incursions. On the contrary their angel (ver. 11.) hath the name of *the destroyer.* They might *kill* them as individuals, but still they should not *kill* them as a political body, as a state or empire. They might greatly harrass and *torment* both the Greek and the Latin churches, but they should not utterly extirpate the one or the other. They besieged Constantinople, and (9) even plundered Rome; but they could not make themselves masters of either of those capital cities. The Greek empire suffered most from them, as it lay nearest to them. They dismembered it of Syria, and Egypt, and some other of its best and richest provinces; but they were never able to subdue and conquer the whole. As often as they besieged Con-

(8) Petavii Rationar. Temp. Part. 1. Lib. 8. Cap. 5. Mezeray Abregé Chronol. A. D. 732, &c.

(9) Sigonii Hist. de Regno Italiæ. Lib. 5. Ann. 846.

stantinople, they were repulsed and defeated. They attempted it (1) in the reign of Constantine Pogonatus, A. D. 672; but their men and ships were miserably destroyed by the sea-fire invented by Callinicus, and after seven years fruitless pains they were compelled to raise the siege, and to conclude a peace. They attempted it again (2) in the reign of Leo Isauricus, A. D. 718; but they were forced to desist by famin, and pestilence, and losses of various kinds. In this attempt they exceeded their commission, and therefore they were not crowned with their usual success. The taking of this city, and the putting an end to this empire, was a work reserved for another power, as we shall see under the next trumpet.

In the following verses (7, 8, 9, 10.) the nature and qualities of these locusts are described, partly in allusion to the properties of natural locusts, and the description given of them by the prophet Joel, and partly in allusion to the habits and manners of the Arabians, to show that not real but figurative locusts were here intended. The first quality mentioned is their being *like unto horses prepared unto battle;* which is copied from Joel (ii, 4.) *The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses, and as horsemen, so shall they run.* Many authors have (3) observed that the head of a locust resembles that of an horse. The Italians therefore call them *cavalette,* as it were little horses. The Arabians too have in all ages been famous for their horses and horsemanship. Their strength is well known to consist chiefly in their cavalry.

Another distinguishing mark and character is their having *on their heads as it were crowns like gold;* which is an allusion to the head-dress of the Arabians, (4)

(1) Theoph. Cedren. ad an. Const. 5. Zonaræ Annales. Lib. 14. Cap. 20. &c. Petavii Rationar. Temp. Part 1. Lib. 8. Cap. 1. Blair's Chronol. Tab. N° 34. Part 2.

(2) Sigonii Hist. de Regno Italiæ. Lib. 3. Anno 718. Petav. ibid. Cap. 5.

(3) Vide Albertum, Aldrovandum, Theodoretum, &c. apud Bochart. Hieroz. Part. Post. Lib. 4. Cap. 5.——caput aut faciem equinæ non absimilem. A qua locustæ ab Italis vocantur *cavalette.* ['The head and face is not unlike to that of a horse. Hence locusts are called by the Italians '*cavalette,*' or little horses.'] Col. 474.

(4) Arabes mitrati degunt. ['The Arabians wear mitres,' &c.] Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 28. Sect. 32. Edit. Harduin. Hic mitra velatus

who have constantly worn turbants or mitres, and boast of having those ornaments for their common attire, which are crowns and diadems with other people. The *crowns* also signify the kingdoms and dominions which they should acquire. For, as Mr. Mede (5) excellently observes, 'No nation had ever so wide a command, nor 'ever were so many kingdoms, so many regions subjugated in so short a space of time. It sounds incredible, yet most true it is; that in the space of eighty 'or not many more years, they subdued and acquired 'to the diabolical kingdom of Mohammed, Palestine, 'Syria, both Armenias, almost all Asia Minor, Persia, 'India, Egypt, Numidia, all Barbary even to the river 'Niger, Portugal, Spain. Neither did their fortune or 'ambition stop here, till they had added also a great part 'of Italy, as far as to the gates of Rome; moreover 'Sicily, Candia, Cyprus, and the other islands of the 'Mediterranean sea. Good God! how great a tract of 'land! how many crowns were here! Whence also it 'is worthy of observation, that mention is not made here, 'as in other trumpets, *of the third part;* forasmuch as 'this plague fell no less without the bounds of the Roman empire than within it, and extended itself even to 'the remotest Indies.'

They had also *faces as the faces of men, and hair as the hair of women:* and the Arabians wore their beards, or at least mustachoes, as men; while the hair of their heads

Arabs. ['Here the Arabians covered with a mitre.'] Claudian de Laud. Stil. 1. 156. Pocockii Not. in Carm. Tograi Arab. pag. ult.

(5) Nulli unquam genti tam late regnatum fuit, neque tam brevi temporis spatio unquam tot regna, tot regiones, sub jugum missa. Incredibile dictu, verissimum tamen est; Octoginta, aut non multo plurium, annorum spatio subjugârunt illi et diabolico regno Muhammedis acquisiverunt Palæstinam, Syriam, Armeniam utramque, totam fermè Asiam minorem, Persiam, Indiam, Ægyptum, Numidiam, Barbariam totam ad Nigrum usque fluvium, Lusitaniam, Hispaniam. Neque hic stetit illorum fortuna, aut ambitio, donec et Italiæ magnam quoque partem adjecerint, ad portas usque urbis Romæ; quinetiam Siciliam, Candiam, Cyprum, et reliquas maris Mediterranei insulas. Deus bone, quantus hic terrarum tractus! quot hic *coronæ!* Unde dignum quoque observatu est, non hic, ut in cæteris tubis, *trientis* mentionem fieri: siquidem non minus extra imperii Romani fines quam intra ipsum caderet hæc clades, ad extremos usque Indos sese porrectura. [Translated in the text.] Mede, p. 468.

was flowing or plaited like that of women; as (6) Pliny and other ancient authors testify. Another property copied from Joel is their having *teeth as the teeth of lions;* that is strong to devour. So Joel describes the locusts (i. 6.) as *a nation whose teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek teeth of a great lion;* and is wonderful how they bite and gnaw all things, as (7) Pliny says, even the doors of houses. They had also *breast-plates as it were breast-plates of iron:* and the locusts have a hard shell or skin, which (8) hath been called their armour. This figure is designed to express the defensive, as the former was the offensive arms of the Saracens. *And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.* Much the same comparison hath been used by Joel, (ii. 5.) *Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap:* and (9) Pliny affirms, that they fly with so great a noise of their wings, that they may be taken for birds. Their *wings,* and *the sound of their wings,* denote the swiftness and ra-

(6) Arabes mitrati degunt, aut intonso crine: barba abraditur, præterquam in superiore labro. Aliis et hæc intonsa. ['The Arabians wear mitres, or keep the hair unshorn; their beard is shaven off, excepting on the upper lip. Some do not shave this also.'] Plin. ibid. Plurimis crinis intonsus, mitrata copita, pars rasa in cutem barba. ['The hair of many of them is not cut, their heads are covered with a mitre, a part of the beard is shaven close to the skin.'] Solinus, Cap. 33. p. 46. Edit. Salmasii. Crinitus quidam, &c. ['A certain man with long hair.'] Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 31. ubi notat Valesius, Talis erat habitus Saracenorum, ut docet Hieronymus in Vita Malchi. Ecce subito equorum camelorumque sessores Ismaëlitæ irruunt, crinitis vittatisque capitibus, &c. et Theodorus Mopsuestenus in caput X Hieremiæ, Saracenos ait comam a fronte quidem detondere, retro autem intonsam demittere, &c. ['Where Valesius has this note. Such was the dress of the Saracens as Jerome informs us in his life of Malchus. "Lo suddenly the Ishmaelites riding on horses and camels, rush in, wearing long hair, and having their heads tied up with ribbands," &c. and Theodorus, Bishop of Mopsuesta on Jerem. x. saith "that the Saracens polled off the hair from their foreheads, but behind suffered it to hang down," &c.'] p. 954. Edit. Paris. 1681.

(7) Omnia vero morsu erodentes, et fores quoque tectorum. ['They gnaw every thing by their biting, not even excepting the doors of houses.'] Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 11. Cap. 29. Sect. 55. Edit. Harduin.

(8) Claudian. Epigram. 32. De Locustâ: Fragmentum.

—— cognatûs dorso durescit amictus.
Armavit naturâ cutem.

['Their kindred covering hardens on their back.
Nature hath armed their skin.']

(9) Tanto volant pennarum stridore, ut aliæ alites credantur. [Translated in the text.] Plin. ibid.

pidity of their conquests; and it is indeed astonishing, that in less than a century they erected an empire, which extended from India to Spain.

Moreover they are thrice compared unto *scorpions*, (ver. 3, 5, 10.) and *had stings in their tails like unto scorpions;* that is they should draw a poisonous train after them, and wherever they carried their arms, there also they should distil the venom of a false religion. It is farther added (ver. 11.) that *they had a king over them;* the same person should exercise temporal as well as spiritual sovranty over them; and the caliphs were their emperors, as well as the heads of their religion. The king is the same as the *star* or *angel of the bottomless pit;* whose name is *Abaddon* in Hebrew, and *Apollyon* in Greek, that is the *destroyer*. Mr. Mede (1) imagins, that this is some allusion to the name of *Obodas*, the common name of the kings of that part of Arabia from whence Mohammed came, as *Pharaoh* was the common name of the kings of Egypt, and *Cæsar* of the emperors of Rome: and such allusions are not unusual in the stile of scripture. However that be, the name agrees perfectly well with Mohammed and the caliphs his successors, who were the authors of all those horrid wars and desolations, and openly taught and professed that their religion was to be propagated and established by the sword.

One difficulty, and the greatest of all, remains yet to be explained; and that is the period of *five months* assigned to these locusts, which being twice mentioned, merits the more particular consideration. They *tormented men five months,* (ver. 4.) and again (ver. 10.) *their power was to hurt men five months.* It is said without doubt in conformity to the type; for locusts (2) are

(1) Mede, ibid. p. 470.

(2) Vergiliarum exortu parere, [Circa Maii Nonas] deinde ad Canis ortum obire, [Circa xv. Calendas Augusti] et alias renasci. ['They bring forth young about the time of the rising of the constellation of the seven stars, (that is about the seventh of May) and die about the rising of the dog star, (about the 18th of July) and then others come up in their place.] Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 11. Cap. 29. Sect. 35. Edit. Hard. Locustæ vere natæ sub finem æstatis obeunt, nec supra quinque menses vivere solent. ['Locusts are produced in the spring, they die at the end of summer, nor do they usually live more than five months.'] Bochart. Hieroz. Part. Post. Lib. 4. Cap. 8, Col. 495.

observed to live about *five months*, that is from April to September. Scorpions too, as (3) Bochart asserts, are noxious for no longer a term, the cold rendering them torpid and inactive. But of these locusts it is said, not that their duration or existence was only for *five months*, but their *power of hurting and tormenting men* continued *five months*. Now these months may either be months commonly so taken: or prophetic months, consisting each of 30 days, as St. John reckons them, and so making 150 years at the rate of each day for a year; or the number being repeated twice, the sums may be thought to be doubled, and *five months* and *five months* in prophetic computation will amount to 300 years. If these months be taken for common months, then, as the natural locusts live and do hurt only in the five summer-months, so the Saracens, in the five summer-months too, made their excursions, and retreated again in the winter. It appears that this was their usual practice, and particularly when (4) they first besieged Constantinople in the time of Constantine Pogonatus. For "from the month of April till September, they pertinaciously continued their siege, and then despairing "of success, departed to Cyzicum, where they wintered, and in spring again renewed the war: and this "course they held for seven years, as the Greek annals "tell us." If these months be taken for prophetic months or 150 years, it was within that space of time

(3) Nec frustra est, quod mysticis locustis, quæ scorpionum caudas habent, non datur potestas nocendi hominibus, nisi per menses quinque. Quippe ut locustæ, ita nec scorpiones diutius nocent. Nam per frigora torpent, nec quidquam ab iis est periculi. ['Nor is it in vain said, that the power of hurting was not given to these mystical locusts, which have the tails of scorpions, for more than five months. For neither do locusts nor scorpions prove hurtful for a longer time. For they are benumbed by the cold, and danger from them is no longer to be feared.'] Bochart. ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 29. Col. 640.

(4) Howel's Hist of the World. Part 3. Chap. 4. Sect. 7. p. 288.—απο μηνος Απριλλιου εις Σεπτεμβρ. και υποχειψαντες εν Κυζικω, ταυτην παραλαμβανουσι, και χειμαζουσιν εκει. και καλα γαρ ομοιως επολεμουν μεχρι των χειμωνων, επι επτα ολη.—ab Aprili usque ad Septembrem mensem. Inde barbari revertentes Cyzicum occupaverunt, atque ibi hyemarunt; et vere rursum Christianis bellum fecerunt. Hoc modo septem annos se gessere. [Translated in the text.] Cedreni Hist. Compend. p. 437. Edit. Paris. p. 345. Edit. Venet. Vide etiam Theophanis Chronograph. p. 264. Edit. Paris, p. 234. Edit. Venet.

that the Saracens made their principal conquests. Their empire might subsist much longer, but their *power* of *hurting* and *tormenting men* was exerted chiefly within that period. Read the history of the Saracens, and you will find that their greatest exploits were performed, their greatest conquests were made, between the (5) year 612 when Mohammed first *opened the bottomless pit*, and began publicly to teach and propagate this imposture, and the year 762 when the caliph Almansor built Bagdad, to fix there the seat of his empire, and called it *the city of peace*. Syria, Persia, India, and the greatest part of Asia; Egypt, and the greatest part of Africa; Spain, and some parts of Europe, were all subdued in the intermediate time. But when the caliphs, who before had removed from place to place, fixed their habitation at Bagdad, then the Saracens ceased from their excursions and ravages like locusts, and became a settled nation; then they made no more such rapid and amazing conquests as before, but only engaged in common and ordinary wars like other nations; then their power and glory began to decline, and their empire by little and little to moulder away; then they had no longer, like the prophetic locusts, *one king over them*, Spain (6) having revolted in the year 756, and set up another caliph in opposition to the reigning house of Abbas. If these months be taken doubly, or for 300 years, then according to (7) Sir Isaac Newton, "the "whole time that the caliphs of the Saracens reigned "with a temporal dominion at Damascus and Bagdad "together, was 300 years, viz. from the year 637 to "the year 936 inclusive;" when (8) their empire was broken and divided into several principalities or kingdoms. So that let these *five months* be taken in any

(5) Prideaux Life of Mahomet. p. 14. 8th Edit. Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. p. 3. et Lib. 2. Cap. 3. p. 102. Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 141. Vers. Pocockii. Blair's Chronol. Tab. N° 36. Part 2.

(6) Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 2. Cap. 3. p. 101. Blair ibid.

(7) Sir Isaac Newton on the Apoc. Chap. 2. p. 305. See likewise p. 91 of Mr. Jackson's Address to the Deists: wherein are some pertinent observations concerning the completion of this and the succeeding Woe.

(8) Elmacin. Lib. 3. Cap. 1. p. 203. Blair's Tab. N°39.

possible construction, the event will still answer, and the prophecy will still be fulfilled; tho' the second method of interpretation and application appears much more probable than either the first or the third.

In the conclusion it is added, (ver. 12.) *One woe is past, and behold there come two woes more hereafter.* This is added not only to distinguish the woes, and to mark more strongly each period, but also to suggest that some time will intervene between this first woe of the Arabian locusts, and the next of the Euphratéan horsemen. The similitude between the locusts and Arabians is indeed so great that it cannot fail of striking every curious observer: and a farther resemblance is (9) noted by Mr. Daubuz, that "there hath happened in the extent of this torment "a coincidence of the event with the nature of the "locusts. The Saracens have made inroads into all those "parts of Christendom where the natural locusts are wont "to be seen and known to do mischief and no where "else: and that too in the same proportion. Where "the locusts are seldom seen, there the Saracens stayed "little: where the natural locusts are often seen, there "the Saracens abode most; and where they breed most, "there the Saracens had their beginning and greatest "power. This may easily be verified by history."

13 And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar, which is before God,

14 Saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates.

15 And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men.

16 And the number of the army of the horsemen *were* two hundred thousand thousand: and I heard the number of them.

(9) Daubuz, p. 409.

17 And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breast-plates of fire, and of jacinct, and brimstone: and the heads of the horses *were* as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone.

18 By these three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths.

19 For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails *were* like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt.

20 And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk:

21 Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.

At the sounding of the sixth trumpet (ver. 13, 14, 15.) a voice proceeded *from the four horns of the golden altar,* (for the scene was still in the temple) ordering the angel of the sixth trumpet *to loose the four angels which were bound in the great river Euphrates;* and they *were loosed* accordingly. Such a voice proceeding *from the four horns of the golden altar* is a strong indication of the divine displeasure; and plainly intimates that the sins of men must have been very great, when the altar, which was their sanctuary and protection, called aloud for vengeance. *The four angels* are the four sultanies or four leaders of the Turks and Othmans. For there were four principal sultanies, or kingdoms of the Turks, bordering upon the river Euphrates; (1) one at Bagdad founded by Togrul Beg, or Tangrolipix, as he is

(1) Elmacini Hist. Saracen. Lib. 3. Cap. 7 et 8. p. 271 et 284. Edit. Erpenii. Heylin's Cosm. B. 3. p. 726. Edit. 1703. Introduct. to the Hist. of Asia. Chap. 11. Sect. 2 et 3. Sandys's Travels. B. 1. p. 74. 7th Edit.

more usually called, in the year 1055: another at Damascus founded by Tagjuddaulas or Ducas in the year 1079: a third at Aleppo founded by Sjarfuddaulas or Melech in the same year 1079: and the fourth at Iconium in Asia Minor founded by Sedyduddaulas or Cutlu Muses, or his son, in the year 1080. These four sultanies subsisted several years afterwards; and the sultans were *bound* and restrained from extending their conquests farther than the territories and countries adjoining to the river Euphrates, primarily by the good providence of God, and secondarily by the croisades or expeditions of the Européan Christians into the holy land in the latter part of the eleventh, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nay the Européan Christians took several cities and countries from them, and confined them within narrower bounds. But when an end was put to the croisades, and the Christians totally abandoned their conquest in Syria and Palestine, as they did in the latter part of the thirteenth century; then *the four angels on the river Euphrates were loosed.* Soliman Shah (2) the first and chief founder of the Othman race, retreating with his three sons from Jingiz Chan and the Tartars, would have passed the river Euphrates, but was unfortunately drowned, the time of *loosing the four angels* being not yet come. Discouraged at this sad accident, two of his sons returned to their former habitations; but Ortugrul the third, with his three sons Condoz, Sarubani, and Othman, remained some time in those parts, and having obtained leave of Aladin the sultan of Iconium, he came with four hundred of his Turks, and settled in the mountains of Armenia. From thence they began their excursions; and the other Turks associating with them, and following their standard, they gained several victories over the Tartars on one side, and over the Christians on the other. Ortogrul (3) dying in the year 1288, Othman his son succeeded him in power and authority; and in the year 1299, as some say with the

(2) Pocockii Supplem. Abul-Pharaj. Hist. p. 41, 42. Herbelot. Bib. Orien. p. 822. 694, &c.

(3) Pocock. ibid. Herbelot. p. 694, 697.

consent of Aladin himself, he was proclaimed sultan, and founded a new empire; and the people afterwards, as well as the new empire, were called by his name. For tho' they disclame the name of *Turks*, and assume that of *Othmans*, yet nothing is more certain, than that they are a mixt multitude, the remains of the four sultanies above mentioned, as well as the descendants particularly of the house of Othman.

In this manner and at this time *the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men,* that is as before, the men of the Roman empire, and especially in Europe, the third part of the world. The Latin or Western empire was broken to pieces under the four first trumpets; the Greek or eastern empire was cruelly *hurt* and *tormented* under the fifth trumpet; and here under the sixth trumpet it is to be *slain* and utterly destroyed. Accordingly all Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Thrace, Macedon, Greece, and all the countries which formerly belonged to the Greeks or eastern Cæsars, the Othmans have conquered, and subjugated to their dominions. They first (4) passed over into Europe in the reign of Orchan their second emperor, and in the year 1357; they (5) took Constantinople in the reign of Mohammed their seventh emperor, and in the year 1453; and in time all the remaining parts of the Greek empire shared the fate of the capital city. The last of their conquests were (6) Candia or the ancient Crete in 1699, and Cameniec in 1672. For the execution of this great work it is said that they *were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year;* which will admit either of a litteral or a mystical interpretation; and the former will hold good, if the latter

(4) Pocockii Supplem. p. 43. Herbelot. p. 693. A. H. 758. cæpit Decem. 25. 1356. Pocockii Index.

(5) Leunclav. Pandect. Hist. Turc. Cap. 129. p. 448. Edit. Paris. p. 339. Edit. Venet. Pocock. ibid. p. 47. Herbelot. p. 615. Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman empire. B. 3. Chap. 1. Sect. 9. p. 103. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Ryeaut. Vol. 1. p. 180, &c.

(6) Prince Cantemir, B. 3. Chap. 12. Sect. 8. p. 262. Sect. 16. p. 265. Savage, ibid. Vol. 2. p. 192. et 200.

should fail. If it be taken litterally, it is only expressing the same thing by different words, as *peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues* are jointly used in other places: and then the meaning is that the were prepared and ready to execute the divine commission at any time or for any time, any *hour*, or *day*, or *month*, or *year* that God should appoint. If it be taken mystically, and the *hour*, and *day*, and *month*, and *year* be a prophetic *hour*, and *day*, and *month*, and *year*, then a *year* (according to St. John's, who follows herein Daniel's computation) consisting of 360 days is 360 years, and a *month* consisting of 30 days is 30 years, and a *day* is a year, and an *hour*, in the same proportion is 15 days: so that the whole period of the Othmans *slaying the third part of men*, or subduing the Christian states in the Greek or Roman empire, amounts to 391 years and 15 days. Now it is wonderfully remarkable, that the first conquest mentioned in history, of the Othmans over the Christians, was (7) in the year of the Hegira 680 and the year of Christ 1281. For Ortogrul "in that year, "(according to the accurate historian Saadi) crowned "his victories with the conquest of the famous city of "Kutahi upon the Greeks." Compute 391 years from that time, and they will terminate in the year 1672: and in that year as it was hinted before, Mohammed the fourth (8) took Cameniec from the Poles. "and forty "eight towns and villages in the territory of Cameniec "were delivered up" to the sultan upon the treaty of peace. Whereupon Prince Cantemir hath made this memorable reflection, "This was the last victory by "which any advantage accrued to the Othman state, or "any city or province was annexed to the ancient "bounds of the empire." Agreeably to which observation, he hath entitled the former part of his history *of the growth of the Othman empire*, and the following part *of the decay of the Othman empire*. Other wars and slaughters, as he says, have ensued. The Turks even

(7) Prince Cantemir's Hist. B. 1. Chap. 2. Sect. 5. p. 10.
(8) Prince Cantemir's Hist. B. 3. Chap. 12. Sect. 18, 19. p. 265.

besieged Vienna in 1683; but this exceeding the bounds of their commission, they were defeated. Belgrade and other places may have been taken from them, and surrendered to them again; but still they have subdued no new state or potentate of Christendom now for the space of between 80 and 90 years; and in all probability they never may again, their empire appearing rather to decrease than increase. Here then the prophecy and the event agree exactly in the period of 391 years; and if more accurate and authentic histories of the Othmans were brought to light, and we knew the very day wherein Kutahi was taken as certainly as we know that wherein Cameniec was taken, the like exactness might also be found in the 15 days. But tho' the time be limited for the Othmans *slaying the third part of men*, yet no time is fixed for the duration of their empire; only this second woe will end, when the third woe, (xi. 14.) or the destruction of the beast, shall be at hand.

A description is then given (ver. 16, 17, 18, 19.) of the forces, and of the means and instruments by which the Othmans should effect the ruin of the eastern empire. Their armies are described as very numerous, *myriads of myriads:* and who knoweth not what mighty armies the Othman emperors have brought into the field? When Mohammed the second besieged Constantinople, he had (9) about four hundred thousand men in his army, besides a powerful fleet of thirty larger and two hundred lesser ships. They are described too chiefly as *horsemen;* and so they are described both by Ezekiel and by Daniel: as there was occasion to observe in the last dissertation upon Daniel: and it is well known, that their armies consisted chiefly of cavalry, especially before the order of Janizaries was instituted by Amurath the first. The Janizaries may be the guard of the

(9) λεγεται δε γενεσθαι. κ. τ. λ. Quadraginta myriades hominum dicuntur tunc temporis in exercitu regis fuisse——classis regiæ, in qua erant triremes triginta, naves minores ducentæ. ['It is said, that at that time, the king's army consisted of forty myriads of men,—and that his fleet was composed of thirty vessels which had three banks of oars, and of two hundred smaller.'] Laonicus Chalcocondylas de rebus Turcicis. Lib. 8. p. 203. Edit. Paris. p. 158. Edit. Venet.

court, but the Timariots, or horsemen holding lands by serving in the wars, are the strength of the government: and these, as Heylin (1) affirms, are in all accounted between seven and eight hundred thousand fighting men; some say that they are a million; and besides these, there are Spahi's and other horsemen in the emperor's pay.

In the vision, that is in appearance, and not in reality, they *had breast-plates of fire, and of jacinct* or hyacinth, *and brimstone.* The color of *fire* is red, of *hyacinth* blue, and of *brimstone* yellow: and this, as Mr. Daubuz (2) observes, "hath a litteral accomplishment; for the "Othmans, from the first time of their appearance, "have affected to wear such warlike apparel of scarlet, "blue, and yellow." Of the Spahi's particularly some have red, and some have yellow standards, and others red or yellow mixt with other colors. In appearance too *the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions,* to denote their strength, courage, and fierceness; *and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone.* A manifest allusion to great guns and gunpowder, which were invented under this trumpet, and were of such signal service to the Othmans in their wars. For *by these three was the third part of men killed,* by these the Othmans made such havoc and destruction in the Greek or eastern empire. Amurath the second (3) broke into Peloponnesus, and took several strong places by the means of his artillery. But his son Mohammed at the siege of Constantinople (4) employed such great guns,

(1) Heylin's Cosm. B. 3. p. 729. Edit. 1703. Sandys's Travels. B. 1. p. 38. 7th Edit.

(2) Daubuz. p. 444. See too Rycaut's Present State of the Othman Empire, B. 3. Chap. 3. Tournefort's Voyage, Vol. 2. Let. 1. p. 36, &c.

(3) Chalcocond. ibid. Lib. 7.

(4) τηλιβόλας ποιεμένος μεγιστας. κ. τ. λ. Bombardas fieri curavit maximas, quantas novimus ea tempestate nunquam extitisse.—Tanta hujus bombardæ magnitudo extitit, ut a septuaginta jugis boum et a viris bis mille trahenda fuerit.——Bombardæ quas rex habebat, duæ maximæ, emittebant lapidem qui appendebat talenta duo.—Hæ emittebant lapidem, cujus pondus erat dimidium talentum——Bombarda maxima torquebat globum, cujus pondus continebat tria circiter talenta—Bombardæ hujus tonitru tantum esse traditum est, ut finitima regio usque ad quadraginta stadia concuteretur. Jam quadraginta diebus murus bombardis fortiter quassatus erat, &c. [' He ordered guns of the largest calibre to be made, such as exceeded

as were never made before. One is described to have been of such a monstrous size, that it was drawn by seventy yoke of oxen and by two thousand men. There were two more, each of which discharged a stone of the weight of two talents. Others emitted a stone of the weight of half a talent. But the greatest of all discharged a ball of the weight of three talents, or about three hundred pounds; and the report of this cannon is said to have been so great, that all the country round about was shaken to the distance of forty furlongs. For forty days the walls was battered by these guns, and so many breaches were made, that the city was taken by assault, and an end put to the Grecian empire.

Moreover *they had power to do hurt by their tails,* as well as *by their mouths, their tails being like unto serpents, and having heads.* In this respect they very much resemble *the locusts;* only the different tails are accommodated to the different creatures, the tails of *scorpions to locusts;* the tails of *serpents with a head at each end to horses.* By this figure it is meant, that the Turks draw after them the same poisonous trains as the Saracens; they profess and propagate the same imposture; they do hurt not only by their conquests, but also by spreading their false doctrin; and wherever they establish their dominion, there too they establish their religion. Many indeed of the Greek church remained, and are still remaining among them: but they are (5) made to pay dearly for the exercise of their religion; are subjected to a capitation tax, which is rigorously exacted from all above fourteen years of age; are burdened besides with the most heavy and arbitrary impositions upon every occasion; are compelled to the lowest and

all that were known before his time.———The size of one gun was so great, that it required seventy yoke of oxen and two thousand men to drag it along.—The king had two very large guns, each of which threw a stone that weighed two talents.———Others threw a stone of the weight of half a talent.—The largest gun discharged a ball which weighed about three talents.———At the discharging of this gun, we are told that the neighbouring country, to the distance of forty furlongs was shaken.—Already had the wall of the city been vigorously battered for the space of forty days.'] Chalcocond. ibid. Lib. 8. p. 203, 204. Edit. Paris. p. 158. 159. Edit. Cuet.

(5) See Smith's and Rycaut's accounts of the Greek church.

most servile drudgery, are abused in their persons, and robbed of their property; have not only the mortification of seeing some of their friends and kindred daily apostatize to the ruling religion, but had even their children taken from them to be educated therein, of whom the more robust and hardy were trained up to the soldiery, the more weakly and tender were castrated for the seraglio: but notwithstanding these persecutions and oppressions some remains of the Greek church are still preserved among them, as we may reasonably conclude, to serve some great and mysterious ends of providence.

But tho' the Greek church was thus ruined and oppressed, *the rest of men* (ver. 20, 21.) *who were not killed by these plagues*, the Latin church which pretty well escaped these calamities, *yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils,* δαιμονια demons or second mediatory Gods, as it hath largely been shown before, saints and angels, *and idols of gold and silver and brass and stone and wood.* From hence it is evident, that these calamities were inflicted upon the Christians for their idolatry. As the eastern churches were first in the crime, so they were first likewise in the punishment. At first they were visited by the plague of the Saracens, but this working no change or reformation, they were again chastised by the still greater plague of the Othmans; were partly overthrown by the former, and were entirely ruined by the latter. What churches were then remaining, which were guilty of the like idolatry, but the western, or those in the communion with Rome? And the western were not at all reclaimed by the ruin of the eastern, but persisted still in the worship of saints, and (what is worse) the worship of images, *which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk:* and the world is witness to the completion of this prophecy to this day. *Neither repented they of their murders,* their persecutions and inquisitions, *nor of their sorceries,* their pretended miracles and revelations, *nor of their fornication,* their public stews and uncleanness, *nor of their thefts,* their exactions and impositions on mankind: and they are as notorious for their licentiousness

and wickedness, as for their superstition and idolatry. As they therefore refused to take warning by the two former woes, the third woe, as we shall see, will fall with vengeance upon them.

CHAP. X.

1 AND I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud, and a rainbow *was* upon his head, and his face *was* as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire.

2 And he had in his hand a little book open: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and *his* left *foot* on the earth.

3 And cried with a loud voice, as *when* a lion roareth: and when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices.

4 And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write: and I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not.

5 And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea, and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven,

6 And sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer:

7 But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets.

8 And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again, and said, Go, *and* take the litttle book which is open in the hand of the angel which standeth upon the sea, and upon the earth.

9 And I went unto the angel, and said unto him, Give me the little book. And he said unto me, Take *it*, and eat it up; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth as sweet as hony.

10 And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth as sweet as hony: and as soon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter.

11 And he said unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings.

St. John, in the conclusion of the last chapter, having touched upon the corruption of the western church, proceeds now to deliver some prophecies relating to this lamentable event. But before he enters upon the subject, he (and the church in him) is prepared for it by an august and consolatory vision. *Another mighty angel came down from heaven* (ver. 1.) described somewhat like the angel in the three last chapters of Daniel, and in the first chapter of the Revelation. *He had in his hand* (ver. 2.) *a little book*, βιβλαριδιον *a little book* or codicil different from the βιβλιον or *book* mentioned before: and it was *open*, that all men might freely read and consider it. It was indeed a codicil to the larger book, and properly cometh under the sixth trumpet, to describe the state of the western church after the description of the state of the eastern: and this is with good reason made a separate and distinct prophecy, on account of the importance of the matter, as well as for engaging the greater attention. *He set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth*, to show the extent of his power and commission: *and when he had cried aloud*, (ver. 3.) *seven thunders uttered their voices*. St. John would have written down (ver. 4.) *those things which the seven thunders uttered*, but was forbidden to do it. As we know not the subjects of *the seven thunders*, so neither can we know the reasons for suppressing them: but it may be conceived, that something might be proper to be revealed to the

apostle, and yet not to be communicated to the church. By these *seven thunders*, (6) Vitringa understands the seven great croisades or expeditions of the western Christians for the conquest of the holy land, and Daubuz the seven kingdoms which received and established the protestant reformation by law. But doth it not savor rather of vanity and presumption than of wisdom and knowlege, to pretend to conjecture what they are, when the Holy Spirit hath purposely concealed them? Then the angel (ver. 5, 6, 7.) *lifted up his hand to heaven*, like the angel in Daniel, xii. 7.) *and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever*, the great Creator of all things, ὁτι χρονος ουκ εσται ετι, *that the time shall not be yet*, but it shall be in the days of the seventh trumpet, that *the mystery of God shall be finished*, and the glorious state of his church be perfected, agreeably to the good things which he hath promised, ὡς ευηγγελισε, *to his servants the prophets*. This is said for the consolation of Christians, that tho' *the little book* describes the calamities of the western church, yet they shall all have a happy period under the seventh trumpet. St. John is then ordered (ver. 8, 9, 10.) *to eat the little book*, as Ezekiel (iii. 3.) did upon a like occasion: and he *ate it up*; he thoroughly considered, and digested it; and found it to be, as he was informed it would be, *sweet as hony in his mouth*, but *bitter in his stomach*. The knowledge of future things at first was pleasant, but the sad contents of the little book afterwards filled his soul with sorrow. But these contents were not to be *sealed up* like those of *the seven thunders*; this *little book* was to be published (ver. 11.) as well as the larger book of the Apocalyps; it was a kind of *second* prophecy, added to the former; and as it concerned *kings and nations*, so it was to be made public for their use and information. But if here, as some contend, the prophecy begins again anew, the subject is resumed from the beginning, and all that follows is contained in *the little book*, then *the little book* contains more matter than *the larger book*, and part of the *sealed* book is made part of the *open* book, which is

(6) Vitring. in locum. p. 431. Daubuz, p. 469.

contrary to the regularity and order of the Apocalyps, and in great measure destroys the beauty and symmetry of the different parts; for it is evident and undeniable, that the seventh trumpet is the seventh part of the seventh seal, as the seventh seal is the seventh part of the sealed book, and consequently can be no part of the little open book, which endeth as we shall see, with the sixth trumpet, and immediately before the sounding of the seventh.

CHAP. XI.

1 AND there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein.

2 But the court which is without the temple, leave out and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty *and* two months.

3 And I will give *power* unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred *and* threescore days cloathed in sackcloth.

4 These are the two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth.

5 And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed.

6 These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as they will.

7 And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.

8 And their dead bodies *shall lie* in the street of

the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified.

9 And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and a half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.

10 And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwell on the earth.

11 And after three days and an half, the spirit of life from God entered into them; and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which saw them.

12 And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them.

13 And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand: and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.

14 The second woe is past, *and* behold, the third woe cometh quickly.

In the former part of this chapter, from the first verse to the fourteenth, are exhibited the contents of this little book. St. John is commanded (ver. 1.) to *measure* the inner court, *the temple of God, and the altar, and them who worship therein*, to show that during all this period there were some true Christians, who conformed to the rule and measure of God's word. This measuring might allude more particularly to the Reformation from popery, which fell out under this sixth trumpet; and one of the moral causes of it was the Othmans taking of Constantinople, whereupon the Greeks flying from their own country, and bringing their books with them into the more western parts of Europe, proved the happy occasion of the revival of learning; as the revival of learn-

ing opened mens eyes, and proved the happy occasion of the Reformation. But tho' *the inner court*, which includes the smaller number, was *measured*, yet *the outer court*, which implies the far greater part, was *left out* (ver. 2.) and rejected, as being in the possession of Christians only in name, but *Gentiles* in worship and practice, who profaned it with heathenish superstition and idolatry: *and they shall tread under foot the holy city*, they shall trample upon, and tyrannize over the church of Christ, for the space of *forty and two months*.

At the same time God should raise up some true and faithful *witnesses* (ver. 3.) to preach and protest against these innovations and corruptions of religion; for there were protestants long before ever the name came into use. Of these witnesses there should be, tho' but a small, yet a competent number; and it was a sufficient reason for making them *two witnesses*, because that is the number required by the law, and approved by the gospel, (Deut. xix. 15. Matt. xviii. 16.) *In the mouth of two witnesses shall every word be established:* and upon former occasions two have often been joined in commission, as Moses and Aaron in Egypt, Elijah and Elisha in the apostasy of the ten tribes, and Zerubbabel and Jeshua after the Babylonish captivity, to whom these witnesses are particularly compared. Our Saviour himself sent forth his disciples (Luke x. 1.) *two and two*: and it hath been observed also, that the principal reformers have usually appeared as it were in pairs, as the Waldenses and Albigenses, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, Luther and Calvin, Cranmer and Ridley, and their followers. Not that I conceive, that any two particular men, or two particular churches, were intended by this prophecy; but only it was meant in the general, that there should be some in every age, tho' but a few in number, who should bear witness to the truth, and declare against the iniquity and idolatry of their times. They should not be discouraged even by persecution and oppression, but tho' *cloathed in sackcloth*, and living in a mourning and afflicted state, should yet *prophesy*, should yet preach the sincere word of God, and de-

nounce the divine judgments against the reigning idolatry and wickedness: and this they should continue to do, as long as the grand corruption itself lasted, for the space of *a thousand two hundred and threescore days*. It is the same space of time with *the forty and two months* before mentioned. For *forty and two months*, consisting each of thirty days, are equal to *a thousand two hundred and threescore days*, or *years*, in the prophetic stile: and *a thousand two hundred and threescore years*, as we have seen before in Daniel, and shall see hereafter in the Revelation, is the period assigned for the tyranny and idolatry of the church of Rome. The *witnesses* therefore cannot be any two men, or any two churches, but must be a succession of men, and a succession of churches.

A character is then given of these witnesses, and of the power and effect of their preaching. *These are the two olive trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth*, (ver. 4.) that is, they are like Zerubbabel and Jeshua, (Zech. iv.) the great instructers and inlightners of the church. *Fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies*, (ver. 5.) that is, they are like unto Moses and Elijah, (Num. xvi. 2 Kings i.) who called for fire upon their adversaries. But their fire was real, this is symbolical, and *proceedeth out of the mouth* of the witnesses, denouncing the divine vengeance on the corrupters and opposers of true religion; much in the same manner, as it was said to Jeremiah (v. 14.) *I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy*, (ver. 6.) that is, they are like Elijah, who foretold a want of rain in the days of Ahab, (1 Kings xvii. 1. Jam. v. 17.) *and it rained not on the earth for the space of three years and six months*, which, mystically understood, is the same space of time as *the forty and two months*, and *the thousand two hundred and threescore days*, which are allotted for the prophesying of the witnesses. During this time the divine grace, and protection, and blessing shall be withheld from those men, who neglect and despise their preaching

and doctrin. *They have* also *power over the waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will,* that is, they are like Moses and Aaron, who inflicted these plagues on Egypt: and they may be said to *smite the earth with the plagues* which they denounce, for in scripture-language the prophets are often said to do those things, which they declare and foretel. But it is most highly probable, that these particulars will receive a more litteral accomplishment, when the plagues of God and the vials of his wrath (Chap. xvi.) shall be poured out upon men, in consequence of their having so long resisted the testimony of the witnesses. Their cause and the cause of truth will finally be avenged on all their enemies.

Next after this description of the power and office of the witnesses, follows a prediction of those things, which shall befall them at the latter end of their ministry; and their passion, and death, and resurrection, and ascension are copied from our Saviour's, who is emphatically stiled (iii. 14.) *the faithful and true witness;* but with this difference, that his was real, theirs are figurative and mystical. *And when they shall have finished,* ὅταν τελέσωσι, *when they shall be about finishing their testimony,* (ver. 7) *the beast that ascendeth out of the abyss,* the tyrannical power of Rome, of which we shall hear more hereafter, *shall make war against them, and shall overcome them and kill them. The beast* indeed *shall make war against them* all the time that they are performing their ministry; but *when they shall be near finishing it,* he *shall* so *make war against them, as to overcome them, and kill them.* They shall be subdued and suppressed, be degraded from all power and authority, be deprived of all offices and functions, and be politically dead, if not naturally so. In this low and abject state they shall lie some time (ver. 8.) *in the street of the great city,* in some conspicuous place within the jurisdiction of (7) Rome, *which*

(7) Mr. Mann, the late learned Master of the Charter-house, in some manuscript notes upon Vitringa's book on the Revelation, communicated to me by my friend Dr. Jortin, hath the following to prove that not Jerusalem but Rome was intended in this place. Rev. xi. 8. *The great city which spiri*

spiritually is called Sodom for corruption of manners, *and Egypt,* for tyranny and oppression of the people of God, *where also our Lord was crucified* spiritually, being crucified afresh in the sufferings of his faithful martyrs. Nay to show the greater indignity and cruelty to the martyrs, *their dead bodies* shall not only be publicly exposed, (ver. 9.) but they shall be denied even the common privilege of burial, which is the case of many protestants in popish countries: and their enemies *shall rejoice* and insult *over them,* (ver. 10.) *and shall send* mu-

tually is called Sodom and Egypt, where their Lord was crucified. 1. "Jeru- " salem in ver. 2. of this very chapter, is called the holy city: can it be in " so few periods intended under the names of Sodom and Egypt?

2. " The holy city or Jerusalem ver. 2. was to be wasted and trod under " foot by the Gentiles for 42 months: the two witnesses were to prophesy " the same space of time; how then should their carkasses lie in the streets " of Jerusalem so wasted?

3. " Jerusalem in this book is four times called the Holy City, never the " Great (unless it be here meant). The Great City is twelve times re- " peated only of Babylon, i. e. Rome; is it probable it should be here used " of Jerusalem?

4. " In ver. 13. at the revival of the two witnesses after lying dead three " days and a half, the tenth part of the city fell; but in ver. 2. Jerusalem is " already wasted, and not supposed to be rebuilt; and therefore incapable " of being so damaged.

5. " And were Jerusalem rebuilt, the enemies of Christ out of all people, " tongues and nations (ver. 9.) would not assemble there, nor the beast ex- " pose the slain witnesses but in his own capital.

1. " Object. There are two characteristics assigned, which fit Jerusalem " only, That it is spiritually or figuratively called Sodom and Egypt; as " Jerusalem is compared to Sodom, Isa. i. 10. and iii. 9. (of Egypt no instance.)

1. " Answ. That Capernaum (Mat. xi. 23, 24.) is likewise compared to " Sodom by Christ; and so is any city that shall reject the Gospel. Matt. x. " 15. Whence Tertullian (adv. Jud. c. 9) observes of this very name, Nec " hoc novum Scripturis divinis, figurate uti translatione nominum, ex com- " paratione criminum. So Rome might be called Sodom for lewdness, and " Egypt for the oppression of God's people.

2. " Object. The second characteristic, where also our Lord was cruci- " fied, determines the place to Jerusalem beyond all possibility of doubting.

2. " Ans. Mills says, The Text should be read, Ὅπου ὁ Κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη, " where their Lord was crucified, or had been crucified; yet indeed without " making any great difference to the litteral sense. But why may not this ex- " pression be used figuratively as well as the preceding? why may not the " Lord of the two witnesses be spiritually crucified; where they are spiritu- " ally slain? St. Paul to the Galatians uses this expression figuratively 3 or 4 " times: The Ep. to the Hebr. vi. 6. uses it figuratively, and perhaps in the " very sense it may bear here. Tho' it is capable too of another, which is " authorised by Christ himself, for Matt. x. and xxv. and Acts ix. 4, 5, he " declares himself to suffer what is done to his followers. In that Great " City therefore, which was drunk with the blood of the saints, and the mar- " tyrs of Jesus, Chap. xvii. 6. Jesus himself might be said to be crucified."

tual presents and congratulations *one to another*, for their deliverance from these *tormenters*, whose life and doctrin were a continual reproach to them. But *after three days and a half*, (ver. 11) that is in the prophetic stile *after three years and a half*, for no less time is requisite for all these transactions, they shall be raised again by *the spirit of God*, and (ver. 12.) shall *ascend up to heaven*; they shall not only be restored to their pristin state, but shall be farther promoted to dignity and honor; and that by *a great voice from heaven*, by the voice of public authority. *At the same hour there shall be a great earthquake*, there shall be great commotions in the world; *and the tenth part of the city shall fall*, as an omen and earnest of a still greater fall; *and seven thousand names of men*, or seven thousand men of name, *shall be slain*; and the remainder in their fright and fear shall acknowlege the great power of God.

Some interpreters are of opinion, that this prophecy of *the death and resurrection of the witnesses* received its completion (8) in the case of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who were *two* faithful *witnesses* and martyrs of the blessed Jesus. It is very well known, that they were condemned to death, and afterwards burnt for heresy by the council of Constance. Which council sitting about *three years and a half*, from November 1414 to April 1418, their *bodies* may that time be said to have lain *unburied in the street of the great city*, in Constance where was the greatest assembly not only of bishops and cardinals, but likewise of embassadors, barons, counts, dukes, princes, and the emperor himself. But after the council was dissolved, these two preachers were restored as it were to life in their disciples and followers, who propagated the same doctrins maintained them by force of arms as well as by preaching, and even vanquished the Imperialists in several battles. It was truly said to them *Come up hither*, when they were invited to the council of

(8) Fox et Vitring. p. 487, &c. Vide etiam Fred. Spanhemii Hist. Christ. Sæc. xv. Cap. 6, 7. Histoire du Concile de Constance par Jaques Lenfant. Voltaire's General History and State of Europe. Part 2, and Annals of the Empire. Vol. 2.

Basil with a promise of redress of grievances: but the council having dealt fraudulently with them, they broke out again into open rebellion, *and the tenth part of the city fell,* the kingdom of Bohemia revolted, and fell alike from its obedience to the pope and emperor.

Others refer this prophecy to (9) the protestants of the league of Smalcald, who were entirely routed by the emperor Charles V. in the battle of Mulburg on the 24th of April 1547; when the two great champions of the protestants, John Frederic, elector of Saxony, was taken prisoner, and the Landgrave of Hesse was forced to surrender himself, and to beg pardon of the emperor. Protestantism was then in a manner suppressed, and the mass restored. The witnesses were *dead,* but not *buried;* and the papists *rejoiced over them, and made merry, and sent gifts one to another.* But this joy and triumph of theirs were of no very long continuance; for in the space of about *three years and a half,* the protestants were *raised again* at Magdeburg, and defeated and took the duke of Mecklenburgh prisoner in December 1550. From that time their affairs changed for the better almost every day; success attended their arms and counsels; and the emperor was obliged by the treaty of Passau to allow them the free exercise of their religion, and to re-admit them into the imperial chamber, from which they had ever since the victory of Mulburg been excluded. Here was indeed *a great earthquake,* a great commotion, in which many *thousands were slain;* and *the tenth part of the city fell,* a great part of the German empire renounced the authority, and abandoned the communion of the church of Rome.

Some again may think this prophecy very applicable to (1) the horrid massacre of the protestants at Paris, and in other cities of France, begun on the memorable eve of St. Bartholomew's day 1572. According to the best authors, there were slain thirty or forty thousand hu-

(9) Brightman and Vitring. p. 493, &c. See also Sleidan's Hist. of the Reformation, B. 19, &c. Voltaire's Annals of the Empire. Vol. 2.

(1) Vitring. p. 496, &c. Thuani Hist. Lib. 52, 53, et 62. Davila's Hist. B. 5 et 6. Mezeray, Charles IX. and Henry III.

gonots in a few days; and among them without doubt many true witnesses and faithful martyrs of Jesus Christ. *Their dead bodies lay in the street of the great city,* one of the greatest cities of Europe; for they were not suffered to be buried, being the bodies of heretics; but were dragged thro' the street, or thrown into the river, or hung upon gibbets, and exposed to public infamy. Great *rejoicings* too were made in the courts of France, Rome, and Spain; they went in procession to the churches, they returned public thanks to God, they sung Te Deums, they celebrated jubilees, they struck medals; and it was enacted that St. Bartholomew's day should ever afterwards be kept with double pomp and solemnity. But neither was this joy of long continuance; for in little more than *three years and a half,* Henry III. who succeeded his brother Charles IX. entered into a treaty with the hugonots, which was concluded and published on the 14th of May 1576, whereby all the former sentences against them were reversed, and the free and open exercise of their religion was granted to them; they were to be admitted to all honors, dignities, and offices, as well as the papists; and the judges were to be half of the one religion, and half of the other; with other articles greatly to their advantage, which were in a manner the *resurrection* of the witnesses, and their *ascension into heaven.* The *great earthquake,* and the *falling of the tenth part of the city,* and the *slaying of thousands of men,* according to this hypothesis, must be referred to the great commotions and civil wars, which for several years afterwards cruelly disturbed, and almost destroyed the kingdom of France.

Others have again recourse to later events, and the later indeed the better and fitter for the purpose. Peter Jurieu, a famous divine of the French church at Rotterdam, (2) imagined that the persecution then carried on by Lewis XIV. against the protestants of France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes in October 1685, would be the last persecution of the church: that

(2) Jurieu's Accomplishment of the Prophecies. Part 2. Chap. 12, 13.

during this time the witnesses would lie dead, but should recover and revive within a few years, and the Reformation should be established in that kingdom by royal authority; the whole country should renounce popery, and embrace the protestant religion. Bishop Lloyd and after him Mr. Whiston (3) apply this prophecy to the poor protestants in the valleys of Piedmont, who by a cruel edict of their sovran the Duke of Savoy, instigated by the French king, were imprisoned and murdered, or banished and totally dissipated at the latter end of the year 1686. They were kindly received and succurred by the protestant states; and after a while secretly entering Savoy with their swords in their hands, they regained their ancient possessions with great slaughter of their enemies; and the Duke himself, having then left the French interest, granted them a full pardon; and re-established them by another edict signed June 4, 1690, just *three years and a half* after their total dissipation. Bishop Lloyd not only understood the prophecy in this manner, but what is very remarkable, made the application even before the event took place, as Mr. Whiston relates, and upon this ground encouraged a refugee minister of the Vaudois, whose name was Jordan, to return home, and returning he heard the joyful news of the deliverance and restitution of his country. These were indeed most barbarous persecutions of the protestants both in France and Savoy; and at the same time popery here in England was advanced to the throne, and threatened an utter subversion of our religion and liberties, but in little more than *three years and a half* a happy deliverance was wrought by the glorious Revolution.

In all these cases there may be some resemblance to the prophecy before us, of *the death and resurrection of the witnesses;* and it may please an overruling providence so to dispose and order events, that the calamities and afflictions of the church may in some measure run parallel one to another, and all the former efforts of

(3) Whiston's Essay on the Rev. Part 3. Vision 2.

that tyrannical and persecuting power called *the beast*, may be the types and figures as it were of this his last and greatest effort against the witnesses. But tho' these instances sufficiently answer in some respects, yet they are deficient in others, and particularly in this, that they are none of them the last persecution; others have been since, and in all probability will be again. Besides as *the two witnesses* are designed to be the representatives of the protestants in general, so the persecution must be general too, and not confined to this or that particular church or nation. We are now living under *the sixth trumpet:* and the empire of the *Euphratean horsemen* or Othmans is still subsisting, and perhaps in as large extent as ever: *the beast* is still *reigning;* and *the witnesses* are still, in some times and places more, in some less, *prophesying in sackcloth.* It will not be till toward *the end of their testimony,* and that *end* seemeth to be yet at some distance, that the great victory and triumph of the *beast,* and the suppression, and resurrection, and exaltation of *the witnesses* will take effect. When all these things shall be accomplished, then *the sixth trumpet* will end, then *the second woe* shall be *past,* (ver. 14.) the Othman empire shall be broken in the same manner that Ezekiel (xxxviii. xxxix.) and Daniel (xi. 44, 45.) have predicted; the sufferings of *the witnesses* shall cease, and they shall be raised and exalted above their enemies: and when *the second woe* shall be thus *past, behold the third woe,* or the total destruction of the beast, *cometh quickly.* Some time intervened between *the first* and *the second woes;* but upon the ceasing of *the second, the third* shall commence immediately.

It appears then that the greater part of this prophecy relating to *the witnesses* remains yet to be fulfilled: but possibly some may question whether any part of it hath been fulfilled; whether there have been any such persons as *the witnesses,* any true and faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who have in every age professed doctrins contrary to those maintained by the pope and church of of Rome. The truth of the fact will best appear by an historical deduction; and if it can be proved, that there

have constantly been such *witnesses* from the seventh century down to the Reformation, during the most florishing period of popery, I presume there can be little doubt about the times preceding or following. As there hath been occasion to observe before, the seeds of popery were sown even in the apostles time, but they were not grown up to maturity, the power of the pope as a *horn* or temporal prince was not established till the eighth century; and from thence therefore it will be proper to begin our deduction, when the beast began to reign, and the witnesses to *prophesy in sackcloth.*

Great as the power of the Latin church was grown in the *eighth* century, the Greek church still dissented from it, and opposed it. The emperors (4) Leo Isauricus and his son Constantine Copronymus not only vigorously opposed the worship of images, but also denied the intercession of saints, and burnt and destroyed their relics. In the year 754 Constantine Copronymus held a general council at Constantinople of 338 bishops, who prohibited unanimously the worship of saints as well as of images; and (5) declared that 'only one image 'was constituted by Christ himself, namely the bread 'and wine in the eucharist, which represent the body 'and blood of Christ:' than which there cannot be a stronger declaration against the doctrin of transubtantiation as well as against the worship of images. It is true that the second council of Nice in the year 787 restored and established the worship of images, and the pope ratified and confirmed it; but nevertheless great opposition was made to it by several churches in the west. Charlemain (6) held a council at Francfort in

(4) Theoph. Cedren. Zonar. &c. &c. Fred. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. viii. Cap. 6, 7. &c.

(5) Aliis explosis imaginibus, [verba sunt Bellarmini, Tom. 1. p. 535.] *unicam* definiverunt esse *imaginem ab ipso Christo institutam, nimirum panem et vinum in Eucharistia, quæ repræsentant Christi corpus et sanguinem.* ['Having rejected other images (these are the words of Bellarmine, Vol. I. p. 535.) they determined, that there is but one only image instituted by Christ himself, namely the bread and the wine in the Eucharist, which represent the body and the blood of Christ.'] Ex Concil. Constantinop. Tom. 3. p. 539. Edit. Binnii. Usserius de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu. Cap. 2. Sect. 4. p. 19.

(6) Spanheim. ibid. Cap. 6 et 9. Usser. ibid. p. 20. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenses. Chap. 8.

the year 794, consisting of 300 bishops of various nations, who condemned equally the second council of Nice and the worship of images. The Carolin books were also set forth under the name and authority of that great monarch; and the doctrins therein contained, of the sufficiency of the scriptures, of the worship of God alone, of prayers in the vulgar tongue, of the eucharist, of justification, of repentance, of pretended visions and miracles, and various other points, are such as a papist would abhor, and a protestant would subscribe. Not to seek for farther instances, the (7) British churches lamented and execrated the second council of Nice; and the famous Albin or Alcuin wrote a letter against it, disproving and refuting it by express authorities of holy scripture; which letter was transmitted to Charles the great in the name of the bishops and other great men of the kingdom. Even at Italy (8) the council of Forojulio prescribed the use of no other creed but that of the apostles, so that they had no conception of the necessity of so many additional articles, as have since been made by pope Pius IV. and received by the church. Some even of the Italian bishops assisted at the council of Francfort before mentioned, and particularly Paulinus bishop of Aquileia bore a principal part in it.

Popery prevailed still more in the *ninth* century, but yet not without considerable opposition. Not only (9) the emperors of the east, Nicephorus, Leo Armenius, Michael Balbus, Theophilus, and the emperors of the west, Charles the great, and Lewis the pious, but also several prelates and ecclesiastics, opposed the absolute power and supremacy of the pope, together with the worship of images, and invocation of saints and angels. The capitularies and edicts of Charles the great and

(7) Hoveden. Annal. pars prior. p. 232. Simeon. Dunelm. Hist. p. 111. Matt. Westm. Flores Hist. Ann. 793. Usser. ibid. p. 19, 20. Collier's Eccles. Hist. B. 2. p. 139.

(8) Tom. 7. Concil. p. 1002. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of Piedmont. Chap. 8. Spanheim. ibid. Cap. 9, 10.

(9) Fred. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. IX. Cap. 9. Miscell. Sacræ Antiq. Lib. 6. Hist. Imag. Sect. 7, 8, 9.

Lewis the pious (1) injoined the reading of the canonical scripture as the sole rule of faith, without any regard to human traditions or apocryphal writings. Private masses and pilgrimages, and other such superstitions (2) were forbidden by the same capitularies. Lewis the pious held a council at Paris in the year 824, which (3) agreed with the council of Francfort in rejecting the second council of Nice, and forbidding the worship of images. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, in his book against pictures and images, maintains, that we ought not to adore any image of God, but only that which is God himself, even his eternal Son; and that there is no other mediator between God and man, save Jesus Christ God and man: so that it is no wonder that this book is condemned in the Index Expurgatorius of the church of Rome. It was in this century, that the doctrin of transubstantiation was first advanced here in the west by Paschasius Radbertus abbat of Corbie in France; but it was strenuously opposed by Rabanus Maurus, Bertramus, Johannes Scotus, and many other bishops and learned men of that age. Rabanus Maurus, archbisop of Mentz, (4) passes this censure upon the novelty of the doctrin; 'Some, says 'he, of late not rightly conceiving concerning the sacra-'ment of the body and blood of our Lord, have affirm-'ed that this is the very same body of our Lord, which 'was born of the virgin Mary, and in which our Lord 'himself suffered, &c.; which error we have opposed to 'the utmost of our power, &c.' He thus (5) expresses

(1) Capit. Aquisgranens. Spanhem. Hist. Christian. Sect. IX. Cap. 3. Sect. 2. Cap. 9. Sect. 2.

(2) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 5, 8, &c.

(3) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 3. Cap. 12. Sect 2. Hist. Imag. Sect. 9. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenses. Chap. 9.

(4) Quidam nuper de ipso sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini non recte sentientes, dixerunt hoc ipsum corpus Domini quod de Maria virgine natum est, et in quo ipse Dominus passus est, &c.; cui errori quantum potuimus, &c. [Translated in the text.] Lib. Pœnitent. Cap. 33. Spanhem. Hist. Christian. Sæc. IX. Cap. 10. Sect. 4.

(5) Maluit Dominus corporis et sanguinis sui sacramenta fidelium ore percipi, et in partem [al. pastum] eorum redigi, ut per visibile opus invisibilis ostenderetur effectus. Sicut enim cibus materialis forinsecus nutrit corpus et vegetat, ita etiam verbum Dei intus animam nutrit et roborat. Sacramentum in alimentum corporis redigitur, virtute autem sacramenti æterna vita adipiscitur. [Translated in the text.] Institut. Cleric. Lib.

his own sentiments; 'Our Lord would have the sacra-
'ment of his body and blood be taken and eaten by the
'faithful, that by a visible work an invisible effect might
'appear. For as the material food outwardly nourishes
'and refreshes the body, so also the word of God in-
'wardly nourishes and strengthens the soul.' Again:
'the sacrament is reduced into the nourishment of the
'body, but by the virtue of the sacrament eternal life is
'obtained.' Bertramus or Ratramnus as he is otherwise called, a monk of Corbie, wrote a book *of the body and blood of our Lord*, which he inscribed to the emperor Charles the bald. The emperor (6) had inquired of him, 'whether the same body, which was born of Mary, and
'suffered, and was dead and buried, and which sitteth
'at the right hand of the Father, is what is daily taken
'in the mouth of the faithful by the mystery of the sa-
'crament in the church:' and Bertram answers, that the difference between them is 'as great as between the
'pledge, and the thing for which the pledge is deliver-
'ed; as great as between the image, and the thing whose
'image it is; as great as between the representation,
'and the reality.' He says (7) in several places, that
'the bread and wine are figuratively the body of Christ,
'spiritually not corporally, in figure, in image, in mystery,
'not in truth, or real existence, or presence of the sub-
'stance.' Johannes Scotus, the famous Irishman, for the Irish were the Scots of those times, (8) wrote also a book

1. Cap. 31. et de Universo. Lib. 5. Cap. 11. Usser. de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu. Cap. 2. Sect. 16.

(6) Ubi quærenti imperatori *utrum ipsum corpus quod de Maria natum est et passum, mortuum et sepultum, quodque ad dexteram Patris consideat, sit quod ore fidelium per sacramentorum mysterium in ecclesia quotidie sumitur:* respondet Bertramus discrimen inter utrumque esse tantum, *quantum est inter pignus, et eam rem pro qua pignus traditur; quantum inter imaginem, et rem cujus est imago; et quantum inter speciem et veritatem.* [Translated in the text.] Usser. ibid. Sect. 17.

(7) Ibi fusè Bertramus, *Panem vinumque figuratè corpus Christi existere; spiritualiter, non corporaliter; in figura, in imagine, in mysterio; non in veritate,* sua reali existentia, vel præsentia *substantiæ,* &c. [Translated in the text.] Spanhem. ibid.

(8) Sacramentum altaris non esse verum corpus, nec verum sanguinem Domini, sed solummodo memoriale veri corporis et veri sanguinis. [Translated in the text.] Spanhem. ibid. Usser. ibid. Sect. 19. Dupin. IX. Siecle. Chap. 7. Cave Hist. Litt. Ann. 858. p. 45. Vol. 2. Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. B. 3. p. 165.

of the eucharist by the command of Charles the bald: and therein he asserted, that 'the sacrament of the altar 'is not the true body, nor the true blood of our Lord, 'but only the memorial of the true body and of the true 'blood.' He was after this invited into England by king Alfred, was preferred by him, and honored with the title of martyr after his death; which is at least a strong presumption, that the church of England had not at that time received the doctrin of transubstantiation. In Italy itself (9) Angilbertus, archbishop of Milan, would not acknowlege the supremacy of the pope, nor did the church of Milan submit to the see of Rome till two hundred years afterwards. But no one was more willing, as indeed no one of that age was more able to stem the torrent of superstition than Claude bishop of Turin, in his numerous writings and comments upon scripture. He (1) asserted the equality of all the apostles with St. Peter, and maintained that Jesus Christ was the only head of the church. He overthrew the doctrin of merit and all pretences to works of supererogation. He rejected traditions in matters of religion, held the church to be subject to error, and denied the use of prayers for the dead. He proposed the doctrin of the eucharist in a manner totally different from Paschasius Radbertus, and entirely conformable to the sense of the ancient church. He opposed with all his might the worship of saints, of relics, of images, together with pilgrimages, penances, and other superstitions of the like kind. He may in a manner be said to have sown the seeds of the Reformation in his diocese of Turin; and his doctrins took such deep root especially in the valleys of Piedmont, that they continued to florish there for some centuries, as the papists themselves acknowlege.

The *tenth* century even the writers of the Romish communion lament and describe as the most debauched and wicked, the most illiterate and ignorant age since

(9) Sigon. de Regn. Ital. Lib. 5. Ann. 844. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 9. Sect. 1.

(1) See these points proved by quotations and extracts from his works in Dr. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of Piedmont. Chap. 9. See also Spanheim, Dupin, Cave, &c.

the coming of Christ. Genebrard (2) says 'This is call-
'ed the unhappy age, being destitute of men famous
'for wit and learning, as also of famous princes and
'popes; in which scarce any thing was done worthy of
'the memory of posterity.' He subjoins, 'But chiefly
'unhappy in this one thing, that for almost 150 years
'about 50 popes totally degenerated from the virtue of
'their ancestors, being more like apostates than apostles.'
Baronius himself (3) denominates it an *iron*, a *leaden*, and *obscure* age: and declares that 'Christ was then,
'as it appears, in a very deep sleep, when the ship was
'covered with waves; and what seemed worse, when the
'Lord was thus asleep, there were wanting disciples who
'by their cries might awaken him, being themselves all
'fast asleep.' It is not to be wondered, that in so long and dark a night as this, while all were asleep, the subtle enemy should sow his tares in great abundance. However there were some few like *lights shining in a dark place*, who remonstrated against the degeneracy and superstition of the times. The resolutions and decrees of the councils of Francfort and Paris against the worship of images (4) had still some force and influence in Germany, in France, in England, and other countries. In the former part of this century, in the year 909, a council (5) was held at Trosly, a village near Soissons in France:

(2) Infelix dicitur hoc sæculum, exhaustum hominibus ingenio et doctrina claris, sic etiam claris principibus; et pontificibus; in quo nihil fere dignum memoria posteritatis gestum sit—Hoc vero uno infelix, quod per annos fere 150 pontifices circiter 50 a virtute majorum prorsus defecerint, Apostactici Apostaticive potius quam Apostolici. [Translated in the text.] Genebrard. Chron. Lib. 4. In initio X Sæc. Usser. de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu. Cap. 2. Sect. 34. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. X, Cap. 3. Sect. 1.

(3) En novum inchoatur sæculum, quod sui asperitate ac boni sterilitate *ferreum*, malique exundantis deformitate *plumbeum*, at inopia scriptorum appellari consuevit *obscurum*. ['Behold a new age commences, which from its roughness, and barrenness of what is good, has usually been called the *iron* age; from its deformity through the evil that abounded therein, the *leaden* age; and from the want of writers, the *obscure* age.'] Baron. ad. ann. 900. Dormiebat tunc planè alto (ut apparet) sopore Christus, cum navis fluctibus operiretur: Et quod deterius videbatur, deerant qui Dominum sic dormientem clamoribus excitarent discipuli, stertentibus omnibus. [Translated in the text.] Ibid. ad ann. 912. Usser. ibid. Spanhem. ibid.

(4) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 8. Hist. Imag. Sect. 9.

(5) Tom. 3. Consil. Galliæ. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 3. Dupin. X. Siecle. Chap. 3.

and having made several wise and good regulations, they concluded with a profession of the things, which Christians ought to believe and practise: and in that profession are none of those things which constitute the sum of popish doctrin, nothing of the pope's being head of the church, nothing of the daily sacrifice of the mass, or of purgatory, or of the worship of creatures, or of commentitious sacraments, or of confession to the priest, but of pure and sincere confession to God: so much did this council differ from the spirit and principles of the council of Trent. Many churches (6) still retained the use of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue: and in England particularly Athelstan caused them to be translated into the Anglo-Saxon idiom. Great opposition (7) was also made in several countries to the celibacy of the clergy: and several councils were held upon the controversy between the monks and the secular clergy, and particularly in England, where Elfere earl of Mercia expelled the monks out of the monasteries in that province, and introduced the clergy with their wives. Many too even in this age denied the doctrin of transubstantiation. Heriger abbat of Lobes near Liege (8) wrote expresly against it; as did also (9) Alfric in England, whose homily for Easter used to be read publicly in the churches. His principal aim therein (1) is to prove, "that we spi-'ritually taste the body of Christ, and drink his blood, 'when with true faith we partake of that holy sacra-'ment; the bread and wine cannot by any benediction

(6) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 2 et 10. Scripturas divinas verti fecit in Anglo-Saxonicum idioma. ['He caused the divine Scriptures to be translated into the Anglo-Saxon idiom.'] Wilh. Malmes. et Balæus.

(7) Spanhem. ibid. Sect. 5. Spelmanni Concil. Brit. Vol. 1. Collier's Eccles. Hist. B. 3. p. 199.

(8) Sigebert de Ecclesiast. Script. Cap. 138. Usser. ibid. Sect. 20. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 3. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 4.

(9) Usser. ibid. Sect. 20, 21. Spanhem. ibid. Sect. 2 Dupin. ibid. Chap. 5. Cave, Hist. Litt. Vol. 2. p. 108, &c. Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. B. 3. p. 204, &c.

(1) —id pene unice agit, "ut ostendat nos spiritualiter corpus Christi "gustare ejusque sanguinem bibere, cum vera fide sacram illam gustamus "eucharistiam; panem et vinum non posse per ullam benedictionem in "Christi corpus et sanguinem mutari; vere quidem Christi corpus et san-"guinem esse, non tamen corporaliter, sed spiritualiter," &c. [Translated in the text.] Cave, ibid. p. 110.

'be changed into the body and blood of Christ, they are 'indeed the body and blood of Christ, yet not corpo-'rally, but spiritually;' with much more to the same purpose. He wrote also two epistles, the one addressed to Wulfin bishop of Shirburn, and the other to Wulfstan archbishop of York, wherein he asserts the same doctrin. In the former he thus (2) explains the doctrin of the sacrament; 'The host is the body of Christ, not cor-'porally, but spiritually. Not the body in which he 'suffered; but the body of which he spake, when he 'consecrated the bread and wine the night preceding 'his passion, and said of the consecrated bread, This is 'my body, and again of the consecrated wine, This is 'my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of 'sins.' In the latter he hath these (3) memorable words, which some papists of more zeal than knowlege attempted to erase out of the manuscript copy. 'Yet this sacrifice 'is not made his body in which he suffered for us, nor 'his blood which he poured out for us, but it is spiri-'tually made his body and blood; as the manna which 'rained from heaven, and the water which flowed from 'the rock, as Paul the apostle saith.' The synods and councils, which were held in this age by the authority of kings and bishops, show evidently that the power of the pope had not yet extended over all. Nay there were kings and bishops who opposed the supremacy of the pope; and none more than (4) the council of Rheims

(2) Hostia illa est Christi corpus non corporaliter, sed spiritualiter. Non corpus in quo passus est: sed corpus de quo locutus est, quando panem et vinum, ea quæ passionem antecessit nocte, in hostiam consecravit: et de sacrato pane dixit, Hoc est corpus meum; rursumque de sacro vino, Hic est sanguis meus, qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum. [Translated in the text.] Apud Usser. ibid. Sect. 21.

(3) Non fit tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, neque sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit, sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis: sicut manna quod de cœlo pluit, et aqua quæ de petra fluxit, sicut Paulus apostolus ait. [Translated in the text.] Apud Usser. ibid. et Cave ibid.

(4) Spanhem. ex Baronio ad ann. 992. Num. 10, &c. et ex Epist. Gerberti. Si peccaverit, subesse judicio ecclesiæ.—Quid hunc, reverendi patres, in sublimi solio residentem, veste purpurea et auro radiantem, quid hunc, inquam, esse censetis? Nimirum si charitate destituitur, solaque scientia inflatur et extollitur, Antichristus est in templo Dei sedens, et se ostendens tanquam sit Deus. [Translated in the text.] Cap. 6. Sect. 3, &c. Dupin, ibid. Chap. 5. See also Allix's Remarks upon the ancient Churches of the Albigenses, Chap. 10.

in the year 991, and Gerbert archbishop of Rheims, who declared 'that if the pope did amiss, he was liable to the 'censures of the church:' and speaking of the pope then reigning John XV. 'What,' says he, 'do you conceive 'this man, sitting on a lofty throne glittering in purple 'cloathing and in gold, what, I say, do you conceive 'him to be? If he is destitute of charity, and is puffed 'up by knowlege alone, he is Antichrist sitting in the 'temple of God, and showing himself that he is God.' He was afterwards himself chosen pope under the name of Sylvester II, and possibly the change of his situation might produce a change in his sentiments.

Much of the same complexion with the tenth was the *eleventh* century, equally sunk in profligacy, superstition and ignorance, but yet not without some superior spirits to bear testimony against it. The papal power was in this century carried beyond all bounds by the ambition and arrogance of the reigning popes, and particularly by the violence and haughtiness of Gregory VII, whose former name was Hildebrand, or *Hell-brand,* as he hath often been denominated. But yet there were emperors and councils, who strenuously opposed the pretensions and usurpations of the see of Rome; and these contests and struggles between the popes and emperors about the right of investitures and other articles make a principal part of the history of this age. Our English kings, devoted as they were to the religion, yet would not entirely submit to the authority of the bishop of Rome; but contradicted it in several instances. When William I. was required by the pope to pay him homage, he made (5) answer, 'To pay homage I have been un-'willing, nor am I willing; for neither did I promise 'it, neither do I find that my predecessors paid it to 'your predecessors.' His son William Rufus exerted somewhat of the same spirit, and (6) insisted that the

(5) Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo; quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio. [Translated in the text.] Apud Baron. Ann. 1079. Sect 25. Usser. de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu. Cap. 7. Sect. 9.

(6) Eadmer. Hist. Lib. 2. Collier's Eccles. Hist. B. 4. p. 279.

pope, without his permission, had no manner of jurisdiction in England. Early in this century, there (7) appeared at Orleans some heretics as they were called, who maintained that the consecration of the priest could not change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and that it was unprofitable to pray to saints and angels: and they were condemned by the council of Orleans in the year 1017. Not long after these (8) appeared other heretics of the same stamp in Flanders, who were also condemned by the synod of Arras in the year 1025. They came originally from Italy, where they had been the disciples of Gundulphus; and they are said to have admitted no scripture but the gospels and apostolical writings; to have denied the reality of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist; to have attributed no religious worship to the holy confessors, none to the cross, none to images, nor to temples, nor altars; and to have asserted, that there was no purgatory, and that penances after death could not absolve the deceased from their sins. Other tenets were ascribed to them, which were really heretical; and perhaps they might hold some errors, as well as some truths: or perhaps their adversaries, as it hath been their usual artifice, might lay things to their charge merely to blacken and defame them. Not long after these (9) arose the famous Berengarius, a native of Tours, and archdeacon of Angers, who more professedly wrote against the doctrin of transubstantiation: and also (1) called 'the church 'of Rome a church of malignants, the council of va-'nity, and the seat of Satan.' It is true that he was compelled by the authority of popes and councils to renounce, abjure, and burn his writings. But his was all a forced, and not in the least a voluntary recantation.

(7) Dupin, XI. Sieole. Chap. 13. Fred. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. xi. Cap. 10. Sect. 1.

(8) Spanhem. ibid. Dupin. ibid. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient Church of Piedmont. Chap. 11.

(9) Usser. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 21, &c. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 2. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 8. &c. &c.

(1) Ecclesiam Romanam, ecclesiam malignantium, concilium vanitatis, et sedem Satanæ vocabat. [Translated in the text.] Gulielm. Reginald. Calvino Turcism, Lib. 2. Cap. v. Usser. ibid. Sect. 24.

As often as he recanted, he relapsed again. He returned like a dog to his vomit, as a (2) contemporary popish writer expresseth it. He lived and died in the same sentiments. His heresy was from him called the Berengarian heresy; and his followers were so numerous, that as (3) old historians relate, he had corrupted almost all the French, Italians, and English with his depravities. When Gregory VII. had, both by letters, and by a council held at Rome in the year 1074, strictly forbidden the marriage of the clergy, it raised (4) great commotions among the ecclesiastics in Germany; who not only complained of the pope for imposing this yoke, but likewise accused him of advancing a notion insupportable, and contrary to the words of our Saviour, who saith that all are not able to live in continence, and to the words of the apostle, who ordereth those who have not the gift of continence to marry. They added that this law, in forcing the ordinary course of nature, would be the cause of great disorders; that they would rather renounce the priesthood than marriage; and the pope should provide, if he could, angels to govern the church, since he refused to be served by men. This was the language of these corrupt ecclesiastics, as (5) Dupin hath called them: but the decree of the pope was no less opposed in France, in Flanders, in Italy, and England, than in Germany. A council was held at Winchester in the year 1076, wherein it was (6) decreed indeed, that no canon should marry; but the priests in the country, who were already mar-

(2) Qui licet eandem hæresin sæpissime in synodo abjuravit, ad vomitum tamen suum canino more non expavit redire. ['Who although he frequently adjured in the synod the same heresy, yet he was not afraid like a dog to return to his vomit.'] Bertoldus Constantiensis presbyter. Apud Usser. ibid. Sect. 34.

(3) Eodem tempore, Berengarius Turonensis, in hæreticam prolapsus pravitatem, omnes Gallos, Italos, et Anglos, suis jam pene corruperat pravitatibus. ['At the same time Berenger of Tours, having fallen into heretical depravity, had already nearly corrupted all the French, the Italians, and the English with his errors.'] Matt. Westmonast. et Hist. Roffen. in anno 1087. Usser. ibid. Sect. 27.

(4) Dupin, ibid. Chap. 5. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 4.

(5) C'est ainsi que ces ecclesiastiques corrompus parloient. ['It was thus that these corrupt Ecclesiastics used to speak.'] Dupin. ibid. p. 36.

(6) Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. B. 4. p. 248, 249. Spelmanni Concil. Vol. 2.

ried, were allowed to cohabit with their wives; whereas the pope had enjoined all priests without distinction to put away their wives, or to forbear the exercise of their office. Whereupon Mr. Collier hath made this just reflection; "From hence it appears that the papal su-"premacy had not reached its zenith in this century, "and that the English bishops did not believe the pa-"triarchal power arbitrary and unlimited, but that a "national church had some reserves of liberty, and "might dissent from the constitutions of the see of "Rome upon occasion."

Europe hitherto was involved in the dark night of popery, with only some stars appearing here and there in the horizon; but in the *twelfth* century there began to be visible some streaks of the morning light, some dawnings of a reformation. Here in England, during the reign of Henry II, the famous constitutions of Clarendon were sworn to and signed both by the clergy and the laity, in recognition of the rights of the crown, particularly forbidding all appeals to Rome without the king's licence, and appointing the trial of criminal clerks before secular judges: but the best account of this as well as of the other memorable transactions of this reign the public expects with some impatience from one of the most masterly and elegant writers of the present age, a friend to religion and virtue, a friend to liberty and his country; and the public expectations have been since fully answered. Fluentius bishop of Florence (7) taught publicly, that Antichrist was born, and come into the world: whereupon pope Paschal II went to Florence, held a council there in the year 1105, and severely reprimanded the bishop, and strictly forbad him to preach any such doctrin. St. Bernard himself, devoted as he was and bigotted to the church of Rome in other respects, (8) yet inveighed loudly against the corruption of the

(7) Platina in vita Paschal. ii. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. xii. Cap. 5. Sect. 2. Cave Hist. Litt. Sæc. xii. Concilia, Vol. 2. p. 258. Calmet. Dict. in ANTICHRIST.

(8) Spanhem. ibid. Usser. de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu. Cap. 7. Sect. 5, 6.

clergy, and the pride and tyranny of the popes, saying that they were the ministers of Christ and served Antichrist, that nothing remained but that the man of sin should be revealed, that the beast in the Apocalyps occupied St. Peter's chair, with other expressions to the same effect. While our King Richard I. was at Messina in Sicily, going upon his expedition to the holy land, he (9) sent for the famous abbat Joachim of Calabria, and heard him with much satisfaction explain the Apocalyps, and discourse of Antichrist. He said that Antichrist was already born in the city of Rome, and that he would be advanced to the apostolical chair, and *exalted above all that is called God or is worshipped.* So that some true notion of Antichrist began to spread even among the members of the church of Rome; and no wonder it prevailed among those, who more directly opposed the doctrins of that church. Peter de Bruis and Henry his disciple (1) taught in several parts of France, that 'the body and blood of Christ were not offered in 'the theatrical mass; that the doctrin of the change of 'the substances in the sacrament is false; that sacrifices, 'that is masses, prayers, alms, and other works of the 'living for the dead, are foolish and impious, and profit 'them nothing; that priests and monks ought rather to 'marry than to burn; that crosses are not to be adored, 'or venerated, and so many crosses, serving to super-'stition, ought rather to be removed than retained:' and they both were martyrs, the one being burnt, and

(9) Rogeri de Hoveden Annal. Pars Posterior, p. 681. Edit. Francof. 1601. Jam natus est in civitate Romana, et in sede apostolica sublimabitur, &c. ['He hath already been born in the city of Rome, and he will be raised to the apostolical chair, &c.'] Collier's Eccles. Hist. B. 6. p. 401.

(1) Corpus et sanguinem Christi in theatrica missa non offerri. Doctrinam de speciebus sacramenti, ipsis nimirum substantiis mutatis, esse falsam. Sacrificia, id est missas, orationis, eleemosynas, et reliqua vivorum opera pro defunctis, esse stultitiam et impietatem, nihilque eis prodesse. Sacerdotes et monachos debere uxores potius ducere, quam comburi. Cruces non adorandas aut venerandas: et tot cruces superstitioni servientes, potius amovendas quam retinendas, &c. [Translated in the text.] Hist. Eccles. Magdeburg. Vol. 3. Cent. xii. Cap. 5. p. 331, &c. Edit. Basil. 1624. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 2. Dupin. xii. Siecle. Chap. 6. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient Churches of the Albigenses. Chap. 14.

the other imprisoned for life, on account of their doctrins. Other heresies were laid to their charge, and their own writings are not extant to speak for them; but these things they taught and professed, their enemies themselves being judges. Arnold of Brescia (2) held opinions contrary to those of the church concerning the sacrament, and preached mightily against the temporal power and jurisdiction of the pope and the clergy; for which he was burnt at Rome in the year 1155, and his ashes were thrown into the Tyber, to prevent the people from expressing any veneration for his relics. But the true witnesses, and as I may say the protestants of this age, were the Waldenses and Albigenses, who began to be famous at this time, and being dispersed into various places were distinguished by various appellations. Their first and proper name seemeth to have been *Vallenses*, or inhabitants of the valleys; and so saith (3) one of the oldest writers, Ebrard of Bethune who wrote in the year 1212: 'They call themselves *Vallenses*, because they 'abide in the valley of tears,' alluding to their situation in the valleys of Piedmont. They were called *Albigenses* from Alby a city in the southern parts of France, where also great numbers of them were situated. They were afterwards denominated *Valdenses* or *Waldenses*, from Peter Valdo or Waldo, a rich citizen of Lyons, and a considerable leader of the sect. From Lyons too they were called *Leoniste*, and *Cathari* from the professed purity of their life and doctrin, as others since have had the name of *Puritans*. As there was a variety of names, so there might be some diversity of opinions among them; but that they were not guilty of Manicheism and other abominable heresies, which have been charged upon them, is certain and evident from all the remains of their creeds, confessions, and writings. Their opinions

(2) Otho Frising de Gestis Frederici. Lib. 1. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 7. Sect. 4. Dupin. ibid. Allix's Remarks on the ancient church of Piedmont. Chap. 18.

(3) Vallenses se appellant, eo quod in valle lachrymarum maneant. [Translated in the text.] Ebrard. Beth. Antihæres. Cap. 25. Usser. ibid. Cap. 8. Sect. 4. Allix. ibid.

(4) are thus recited from an old manuscript by the Centuriators of Magdeburg.

'In articles of faith the authority of the holy scripture 'is the highest, and for that reason it is the rule of judg- 'ing; so that whatsoever agreeth not with the word of 'God, is deservedly to be rejected and avoided.

'The decrees of fathers and councils are so far to be 'approved, as they agree with the word of God.

'The reading and knowlege of the holy scriptures is 'free and necessary for all men, the laity as well as the 'clergy; yea and the writings of the prophets and apos- 'tles are to be read rather than the comments of men.

'The sacraments of the church of Christ are two, bap- 'tism and the supper of the Lord.

(4) In articulis fidei summam esse sacræ scripturæ authoritatem, eamque ob causam esse illam normam judicandi; ut quicquid cum verbo Dei non congruat, merito sit repudiandum et fugiendum.

Patrum et conciliorum dogmata 'catenus probanda, quatenus cum verbo Dei conveniunt.

Sacrarum scripturarum lectionem et cognitionem, omnibus *hominibus*, tum laicis, tum sacratis viris, liberam et necessariam esse; imo potius prophetarum et apostolorum monumenta legenda esse, quam hominum commenta.

Duo esse ecclesiæ Christi sacramenta, baptismum et cœnam Domini.

Utriusque speciei usum, pro sacerdotibus et laicis, a Christo institutum esse,

Missas esse impias; ac furorem esse, pro mortuis missificare.

Purgatorium esse figmentum hominum; credentes enim, in vitam æternam, non credentes autem, in damnationem æternam venire.

Sanctorum mortuorum invocationes et cultum, esse idololatriam.

Romanam ecclesiam esse meretricem Babylonicam.

Papæ et episcopis non obtemperandum; quia sint lupi ecclesiæ Christi.

Papam non habere primatum super omnes ecclesias Christi, nec habere potestatem utriusque gladii.

Ecclesiam Christi esse, quæ sincerum Christi verbum audiat, et sacramentis ab ipso institutis utatur, ubicunque locorum ea exsistat.

Vota esse hominum figmenta, Sodomam nutrientia.

Tot ordines esse tot charactores bestiæ.

Monochatum esse cadaver fœtidum.

Templorum tot superstitiosas dedicationes, memorias mortuorum, benedictiones creaturarum, peregrinationes, tot coacta jejunia, tot festa superflua, perpetuos istos hominum indoctorum boatus, ac reliquarum cæremoniarum observationes, verbi doctrinam et institutionem manifeste impedientes, esse inventiones diabolicas.

Conjugium sacerdotum esse licitum et necessarium. [Translated in the text.]

Hæc ex antiquo manuscripto libro proferimus. ['These things we produce from an old manuscript.'] Hist. Eccles. Magdeburg. Vol. 3. Cent. xii. Cap. 8. 548, 549. Edit. Basil. 1624. See also the Confession of the Faith of the Waldenses in Perrin's Hist. B. 1. Chap. 12, &c.

'The receiving in both kinds for priests and people 'was instituted by Christ.

'Masses are impious; and it is madness to say masses 'for the dead.

'Purgatory is an invention of men; for they who be-'lieve, go into eternal life, they who believe not, into 'eternal damnation.

'The invocating and worshipping of dead saints is ido-'latry.

'The church of Rome is the whore of Babylon.

'We must not obey the pope and bishops; because they 'are the wolves of the church of Christ.

'The pope hath not the primacy over all the churches 'of Christ, neither hath he the power of both swords.

'That is the church of Christ which heareth the sin-'cere word of Christ, and useth the sacraments instituted 'by him, in what place soever it exist.

'Vows of celibacy are inventions of men, and occasions 'of Sodomy.

'So many orders are so many characters of the beast.

'Monkery is a stinking carcass.

'So many superstitious dedications of churches, com-'memorations of the dead, benedictions of creatures, 'pilgrimages, so many forced fastings, so many superflu-'ous festivals, those perpetual bellowings (meaning the 'singing and chanting) of unlearned men, and the obser-'vations of the other ceremonies, manifestly hindering 'the teaching and learning of the word, are diabolical in-'ventions.

'The marriage of priests is lawful and necessary.'

Much hath been written in censure and commendation of this sect both by enemies and friends, by papists and protestants. If they have been grossly misrepresented and vilified on one side, they have been amply vindicated and justified on the other; but I will only produce the testimonies of three witnesses concerning them, whom both sides must allow to be unexceptionable, Reinerius, Thuanus, and Mezeray. Reinerius (5) florished about

(5) Inter omnes sectas, quæ adhuc sunt vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior ecclesiæ quam Leonistrarum. Et hoc tribus de causis. Prima est, quia est diuturnior; aliqui enim dicunt, quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri; aliqui,

the year 1254; and his testimony is the more remarkable, as he was a Dominican, and inquisitor general.

a tempore apostolorum. Secunda, quia est generalior: fere enim nulla est terra, in qua hæc secto non sit. Tertia, quia cum omnes aliæ sectæ immanitate blasphemiarum in Deum audientibus horrorem inducant, hæc Leonistarum magnam habet speciem pietatis; eo quod coram hominibus juste vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos qui in symbolo continentur; solummodo Romanam ecclesiam blasphemant et clerum; cui multitudo laicorum facilis est ad credendum. [Translated in the text.] Reiner. contra Hæret. Cap. 4. p. 54. Edit. Ingolst. 1613. Usser. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 11. Cap. 8. Sect. 1. Cave Hist. Litt. Vol. 2 ad ann. 1244. p. 302. Usher hath added other remarkable testimonies concerning the morals of the Waldenses and their followers. Pontificius quidam inquisitor [Rerum Bohem. Script. a Frehero edit. p. 231.] Leonistarum sive Waldensium mores descripturus, hujusmodi utitur præfatiuncula: *Cognoscuntur hæretici per mores et verba. Sunt enim in moribus compositi, et modesti; superbiam in vestibus non habent, &c.* Miserrima profecto tempora in quibus *compositi et modesti mores* hæreticorum haberentur insignia. De iisdem Claudius Seysillius archiepiscopus Taurinensis; [Seysil. tract. adversus errores et sectam Waldensium. Edit. Paris. Ann. 1520. fol. 9.] *Nonnihil etiam ad horum Valdensium confirmandam tolerandamque sectam confert, quod præter hæc quæ contra fidem religionemque nostram assumunt, in reliquis ferme puriorem quam cæteri Christiani vitam agunt. Non enim nisi coacti jurant, raroque nomen Dei in vanum proferunt, promissaque sua bonæ fide implent, et in paupertate pars maxima degentes, apostolicam vitam doctrinamque servare se solos protestantur: ob idque potestatem ecclesiæ apud se, velut innoxios et veros Christi discipulos, residere affirmant; pro cujus fide religioneque in egestate vivere, et a nobis persecutionem pati, pulchrum et gloriosum ducunt.* Fratribus Bohemis, Waldensium soboli, non dissimile perhibuit testimonium, qui fidei ipsorum suit inimicissimus, Jacobus Liclenstenius Dominicanus. [Citatus a Joachim Camerario de Eccles. Fratr. Bohem.] *Dico* (inquit) *quod in moribus et vita boni sunt, veraces in sermone, in caritate fraterna unanimes. Sed fides eorum est incorrigibilis et pessima, ut patuit in tractatu meo.* ['A certain Popish Inquisitor, (see for this the writers of the Bohemian affairs published by Freherus, p. 231.) when he is about to describe the morals of the Leonists or Waldenses, maketh use of this preample. *Heretics are known by their manners and words. In their manners they are quiet and modest. Nothing of pride appears in their dress*, &c. Truly wretched were those times, wherein quiet and modest manners were to be accounted the marks of heretics. Claude Seyssel, Archbishop of Turin, [in his treatise against the errors and sect of the Waldenses, in the Paris edition of 1520, and ninth leaf,] speaking of the same, hath these words. "*It contributes not a little towards the establishment and toleration of the sect of the Waldenses, that excepting in these things which they take for granted against our faith and religion, in most other things they lead a purer life than other Christians. For they do not take an oath, unless compelled, and seldom pronounce the name of God in vain. They are scrupulously exact in fulfilling their promises. The greater part of them live in poverty, and profess that they alone observe the practice and doctrine of the apostles: and on that account they assert that the power of the church is lodged with them as the innocent and true disciples of Christ, for the sake of whose faith and religion, they regard it honourable and glorious to live in poverty and to suffer persecution from us.*" James Liclenstein, a Dominican, hath given a similar testimony to the Bohemian Brethren, who descended from the Waldenses, (he is quoted by Joachim Camerarius, concerning the church of the Bohemian Brethren.) "*I affirm,*" saith he, "*that they are excellent in their morals and life, true in*

'Among all the sects, which still are or have been, there 'is not any more pernicious to the church than that of 'the Leonists. And this for three reasons. The first is, 'because it is older; for some say that it hath in- 'dured from the time of pope Sylvester; others, from 'the time of the apostles. The second, because it is 'more general; for there is scarce any country wherein 'this sect is not. The third, because when all other 'sects beget horror in the hearers by the outrageousness 'of their blasphemies against God, this of the Leonists 'hath a great show of piety; because they live justly 'before men, and believe all things rightly concerning 'God, and all the articles which are contained in the 'creed; only they blaspheme the church of Rome and 'the clergy; whom the multitude of the laity is easy to 'believe.' The credit of Thuanus as an historian is too well established to need any recommendation; and he is (6) so candid and impartial, as to distinguish between their real opinions, and those heresies which were falsly imputed to them by their enemies. 'Peter Valdo a 'wealthy citizen of Lyons about the year of Christ 1170 'gave name to the Waldenses. He (as Guy de Perpig- 'nan, bishop of Elna in Roussillon, who exercised the 'office of inquisitor against the Valdenses, hath left testi-

their words, of one mind in brotherly love, but their doctrines are most depraved and incorrigible, as hath been made evident in my treatise.'"] Usser. Cap. 6. Sect. 15.

(6) Petrus Valdus locuples civis Lugdunensis, anno Christi circiter MCLXX Valdensibus nomen dedit. Is (ut monumentis testatum reliquit Vidus Perpinianus præsul Elnensis, qui quæsitoris in Valdenses munus exercuit) domo ac bonis relictis totum se evangelicæ professioni devoverat, et prophetarum atque apostolorum scripta populari lingua vertenda curaverat —Cum jam multos sectatores exiguo tempore circa se haberet, eos tanquam discipulos ad evangelium promulgandum in omnes partes ablegat—Eorum hæc dogmata ferebantur; Ecclesiam Romanam, quoniam veræ Christi fidei renunciaverit, Babylonicam meretricem esse, et arborem illam sterilem, quam ipse Christus diris devovit et revellendam esse præcepit; proinde minime parendum pontifici, et episcopis, qui ejus errores sovent: monasticam vitam ecclesiæ sentinam ac Plutonium esse; vana illius vota, nec nisi fœdis puerorum amoribus servientia: presbyterii ordines magnæ bestiæ, quæ in Apocalypsi commemoratur, notas esse: ignem purgatorium, solemne sacrum, templorum encænia, cultum sanctorum, ac pro mortuis propitiatorium, Satanæ commenta esse. His præcipuis ac certis eorum doctrinæ capitibus alia afficta, de conjugio, resurrectione, animæ statu post mortem, et de cibis. [Translated in the text.] Thuani Hist. Lib. 6. Sect. 16. Vol. 1. p. 221. Edit. Buckley.

'fied in writing) leaving his house and goods, devoted 'himself wholly to the profession of the gospel, and took 'care to have the writings of the prophets and apostles 'translated into the vulgar tongue—When now in a 'little time he had many followers about him, he sent 'them forth as his disciples into all parts to propagate 'the gospel—Their fixed opinions were said to be these: 'that the church of Rome, because she hath renounced 'the true faith of Christ, is the whore of Babylon, and 'that barren tree, which Christ himself hath cursed, and 'commanded to be rooted up; therefore we must by 'no means obey the pope, and the bishops who cherish 'his errors: that the monastic life is the sink of the 'church, and an hellish institution; its vows are vain, 'and subservient only to the filthy love of boys: the 'orders of the presbytery are the marks of the great beast, 'which is mentioned in the Apocalyps; the fire of pur-'gatory, the sacrifice of the mass, the feast of the dedica-'tions of churches, the worship of saints, and propitia-'tions for the dead, are inventions of Satan. To these 'the principal and certain heads of their doctrin others 'were feigned and added, concerning marriage, the re-'surrection, the state of the soul after death, and con-'cerning meats.' Mezeray, the celebrated historiographer of France, is short, but full to our purpose; for (7) he saith, that 'they had almost the same opinions as those 'who are now called Calvinists.' It cannot be objected that this is protestant evidence, for they were all three members of the church of Rome.

In the *thirteenth* century, the Waldenses and Albigenses had spread and prevailed so far, and were prevailing still farther, that the pope thought it necessary to exert his utmost efforts to suppress them. For this purpose the first croisade was proclaimed of Christians against Christians, and the office of inquisition was first erected, the one to subdue their bodies, the other to inslave their souls. It is enough to make the blood run

(7) — avoient à peu prés les mesmes opinions que ceux qu'on nomme aujourd'huy Calvinistes. [Translated in the text.] Abregé Chronol. Philippe Auguste, p. 657. Edit. Amsterdam. 1674.

cold, to read of the horrid murders and devastations of this time, how many of these poor innocent Christians were sacrificed to the blind fury and malice of their enemies. It is (8) computed that in France alone were slain a million: and what was the consequence of these shocking barbarities? No writer can better inform us than (9) the wise and moderate historian Thuanus. 'Against the Waldenses (saith he) when exquisite punishments availed little, and the evil was exasperated 'by the remedy which had been unseasonably applied, 'and their number increased daily, at length complete 'armies were raised: and a war of no less weight, than 'what our people had before waged against the Saracens, was decreed against them: the event of which 'was, that they were rather slain, put to flight, spoiled 'every where of their goods and dignities, and dispersed 'here and there, than that convinced of their error they 'repented. So that they who at first had defended 'themselves by arms, at last overcame by arms fled 'into Provence and the neighbouring Alps of the 'French territory, and found a shelter for their life 'and doctrin in those places. Part withdrew into 'Calabria, and continued there a long while, even 'to the pontificate of Pius IV. Part passed into 'Germany, and fixed their abode among the Bohemians, and in Poland and Livonia. Others turning to the west obtained refuge in Britain.' But there were others in this age, who proceeded not so far as the Waldenses and Albigenses, and yet opposed the

(8) Vidé Mede in Apoc. p. 503.

(9) Contra quos [Valdenses] cum exquisita supplicia parum proficerent, et remedio, quod intempestive adhibitum fuerat, malum exacerbaretur, numerusque eorum in dies cresceret, justi tandem exercitus conscripti sunt: nec minoris molis bellum quam quod antea nostri adversus Saracenos gesserant, contra eosdem decretum est: cujus is exitus fuit, ut potius cæsi, fugati, bonis ac dignitatibus ubique spoliati atque huc illuc dissipati sint, quam erroris convicti resipuerint. Itaque qui armis se initio tutati fuerant, postremo armis victi in Provinciam apud nos et Gallicæ ditionis Alpes vicinas confugerunt, latebrasque vitæ ac doctrinæ suæ iis in locis repererunt. Pars in Calabriam concessit, in eaque diu, atque adeo usque ad Pii IV. pontificatum, se continuit. Pars in Germaniam transiit, atque apud Bohemos, et in Polonia et Livonia, larem fixit. Alii ad occidentem versi in Britannia perfugium habuerunt. [Translated in the text.] Thuani Præfat. ad Henric. IV. p. 7. Edit. Buckley.

church of Rome in many respects. At the beginning of this century (1) Almeric and his disciples were charged with several heresies, and were condemned by the second council of Paris in the year 1209. They might possibly hold some heterodox opinions; but their great offence was their denying the change of the substance of the bread and wine in the eucharist, their opposing the worship of saints, images and relics, and their affirming that the pope was Antichrist, that Rome was Babylon, and that the prelates were the members and ministers of Antichrist: so that these differed little from the Waldenses and Albigenses. William of St. Amour, a doctor of the Sorbonne, (2) wrote a treatise *of the perils of the last times*, wherein he applied that prophecy of St. Paul, (2 Tim. iii. 1.) *This know also that in the last days perilous times shall come*, to the mendicant orders and preachers of his time; and it was so severe a satir upon the Dominicans, that pope Alexander IV. condemned it, as containing perverse sentiments, contrary to the power and authority of the Roman pontiff and of the other bishops, and in fine as a book capable of causing great scandals and troubles in the church. Robert Grosthead or Greathead, bishop of Lincoln, (3) in his speeches and writings inveighed bitterly against the corruption and superstition, the lewdness and wickedness of the clergy in general, and the rapacity and avarice, the tyranny and antichristianism of pope Innocent IV. in particular. He was also no less a friend to (4) civil and religious liberty, and ordered all the violators of Magna Charta, whosoever and wheresoever they were within his diocese, to be excommunicated. Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian, hath (5) re-

(1) Dupin. XIII. Siecle. Chap. 8. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. XIII. Cap. 9. Sect. 2.

(2) Hist. Ecclesiast. Magdeburg. Cent. XIII. Cap. 10. p. 588. Edit. Basil. 1624. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 7. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 1.

(3) Vide Cent. Magdeburg. Balæum. Dupin. Cave. Tanner. &c.

(4) Matt. Paris. ad Ann. 1253. p. 874. Edit. Wats. 1646.

(5) Matt. Paris. ibid. Papæ redargutor, prælatorum correptor, monachorum corrector, presbyterorum director, clericorum instructor—Romanorum malleus et contemptor. [Translated in the text.] p. 876.

lated the substance of his dying discourses, wherein he proves the pope to be an heretic, and deservedly to be called Antichrist: and concludes with giving him the character of 'refuter of the pope, reprover of prelates, 'corrector of monks, director of priests, instructor of 'the clergy, and in short the hammer to beat down the 'Romans and to bring them into contempt.' It is no marvel that such a man was excommunicated; but he (6) little regarded the censure, and appealed from the court of Innocent to the tribunal of Christ. Not to mention others, Matthew Paris himself hath painted in the most lively colors the corruptions and abominations of the see of Rome, the tyranny, superstition, simony, and wickedness of the popes and clergy. A protestant historian could not more freely lash and expose the vices of the times, than he did who was a monk of St. Albans.

As *they are not all Israel which are of Israel;* so neither have all the members of the Romish church believed all her doctrins. Dante and Petrarch, the former of whom died, and the latter was born as well as died, in the *fourteenth* century, were (7) severe satirists upon the times, and wrote freely against the temporal dominion of the pope, and the corruptions of the clergy, treating Rome as Babylon, and the pope as Antichrist: and they probably did more hurt to the court and church of Rome by their wit and raillery, than others by invective and declamation. Peter Fitz Cassiodor, whether a fictitious or a real person, (8) addressed a remonstrance to the church of England against the tyranny, avarice and exactions of the court of Rome, advising and exhorting the English to shake off the Roman yoke from their necks. Michael Cæsenas and William Occam (9) ex-

(6) Excommunicatus appellavit a curia Innocentii ad tribunal Christi. ['When excommunicated he appealed from the court of Innocent to the tribunal of Christ.'] Henr. de Knyghton. Lib. 2. inter Scriptores x. p. 2436.

(7) Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. xiv. Cap. v. Sect. 8 et 9. Robertus Gerius et Henricus Wharton in Appendice ad Cave Hist. Lit. p. 9 et 50.

(8) Appendix ad Cave. p. 10. Collier's Ecclesiast. B. 5. p. 501, &c.

(9) H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave. p. 20 et 28. Dupin. XIV. Sicele. Chap. 5.

posed the various errors and heresies of John XXII. to the number of 77; and secure in the protection of the emperor, they set at nought the thunder of the pope's excommunications. Marsilius, a famous lawyer of Padua, (1) wrote a treatise entitled *the defender of peace*, wherein he advanced the power of the emperor above that of the pope in things spiritual as well as temporal; painted in the strongest colors the pride, ambition, and luxury of the court of Rome: and abundantly proved that the pope had not by divine right the least authority or præeminence over other bishops. It is no wonder that the author and his book were condemned together. But there were other and better witnesses than these in this age. It was shown before from Thuanus, that the Waldenses and Albigenses being persecuted in their own country, fled for refuge into foreigns nations, some into Germany, and some into Britain. In Germany they grew and multiplied so fast, notwithstanding the rage and violence of croisaders and inquisitors, that at the beginning of this century (2) it is computed, that there were eighty thousand of them in Bohemia, Austria, and the neighbouring territories: and they pertinaciously defended their doctrins even unto death. Among a variety of other names they were called *Lollards* from (3) one Walter Lollard, who preached in Germany about the year 1315 against the authority of the pope, the intercession of saints, the mass, extreme unction, and other ceremonies and superstitions of the church of Rome; and was burned alive at Cologne in the year 1322. In England also they were denominated Lollards, tho' there was a man more worthy to have given name to the sect, the deservedly famous John Wickliff, the honor of his own and the admiration of all succeeding times. Rector only of Lutterworth, he (4) filled all England, and almost all Europe with his doctrin. He

(1) Wharton, ibid. p. 26, 27. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 5 et 8.
(2) Bzovius ad Ann. 1315. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6. Sect. 1. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 8.
(3) Dupin. ibid. Hoffmanni Lex. Spelman. Skinner, &c.
(4) H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave. p. 60, &c. Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 6. Leland, Bale, Tanner, &c. &c.

began to grow famous about the year 1360 by preaching and writing against the superstitions of the age; the tyranny of the pope, the erroneous doctrins and vicious lives of the monks and the clergy; and especially by defending the royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction against the usurpations of the popes and mendicant friers. The more he opposed, the more reason he found for opposition. He translated the canonical scriptures into the English language, and wrote comments upon them. He demonstrated the antichristianity of popery, and the abomination of desolation in the temple of God. He asserted the one true sacrifice of Christ, and opposed the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, the adoration of the host, the seven sacraments, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worship of saints and images, and in short all the principal corruptions and superstitions of the church of Rome. His success too was greater than he could have expected. The princes, the people, the university of Oxford, many even of the clergy. favored and supported him, and embraced his opinions. His enemies have charged him with several heterodox notions; but many years ago was published *An apology for John Wickliff, shewing his conformity with the now Church of England, &c. collected out of his written works in the Bodleian library by Thomas James, keeper of the same, at Oxford* 1608. This truly good and great man died of the palsy the last day of the year 1387, but his doctrins did not die with him. His books were read in the public schools and colleges at Oxford, and were recommended to the diligent perusal of each student in the university; till they were condemned and prohibited by the council of Constance in the next century. His followers the Lollards in the year 1395 presented (5) a remonstrance to the parliament, which contained these with other articles; that when the church of England began to mismanage her temporalities in conformity to the precedents of Rome, faith, hope, and charity began to take their leave of her communion; that the English

(5) Walsingham, Stow, Spelman, Collier's Eccles. Hist. B. 6. p. 596, &c.

priesthood derived from Rome, and pretending to a power superior to angels, is not that priesthood which Christ settled upon his apostles; that injoining celibacy to the clergy was the occasion of scandalous irregularities in the church; that the pretended miracles of transubstantiation runs the greatest part of Christendom upon idolatry; that exorcisms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread, water, the mitre, the cross, &c. have more of necromancy than religion in them; that prayer made for the dead is a wrong ground for charity and religious endowments; that pilgrimages, prayers, and offerings made to images and crosses, are near of a kin to idolatry; that auricular confession makes the priests proud, lets them into the secrets of the penitent, gives opportunities for intrigues, and is attended with scandalous consequences, as well as the doctrin of indulgences; that the vow of single life undertaken by women in the church of England is the occasion of horrible disorders, &c. Some false tenets might be contained in the same remonstrance; for alas, who is there that holdeth the truth without any mixture or allay of error? They denied the infallibility of the pope, and they could not well pretend to be infallible themselves.

Two things contributed much to the revival of learning in the *fifteenth* century, the Greeks flying with their books from Constantinople which the Turks had taken, and the invention of printing. As learning more revived, so the truth prevailed more; and the more the truth prevailed, the fury of persecution increased in proportion. Wickliff himself had been permitted to die in peace; but after his death (6) his doctrins were condemned, his books were burnt, his very body was dug up and burnt too, by a decree of the council of Constance, and the command of pope Martin V, executed by Richard Fleming, bishop of Lincoln. His followers however were not discouraged, and many of them witnessed a good confession even unto death. William Sawtre,

(6) Balæi Script. Brit. Cent. 6. No. 1. H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave, p. 63. Dupin, Collier, Tanner, &c.

parish priest of St. Osith in London, (7) hath the honor of being the first who was burnt for heresy in England; which was done in the reign of Henry IV, at the beginning of this century. A few years afterwards Thomas Badby (8) was convicted of heresy, and ordered also to be burnt in Smithfield. Henry prince of Wales was present at his execution: and the poor man showing very sensible signs of the torment he endured, the prince out of compassion commanded the fire to be removed, and promised him pardon, and a pension for life, provided he would retract his errors. But Badby being come to himself, resolutely rejected this offer; he chose rather to die with a good, than to live with an evil conscience; and so the fire was kindled again, and he was consumed to ashes. In the next reign Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, (9) was prosecuted for being the principal patron and abetter of the Lollards. Being examined before the archbishop of Canterbury, he declared against transubstantiation. penances, the worshipping of the cross, the power of the keys; and asserted that the pope was Antichrist and the head of that body, the bishops were the members, and the friers the hinder parts of the antichristian, society. He was therefore pronounced a heretic convert, and delivered over to the secular power. But before the day fixed for his execution he escaped out of prison; and being charged by his enemies with endeavouring to make an insurrection, he was outlawed for high treason; and being taken afterwards, he was hanged as a traitor, and burnt hanging as an heretic, being the first nobleman in England who suffered death for the cause of religion. It was the great blot and stain of Henry the fifth's reign and character, that while he was carrying the glory of the English arms abroad, he was still persecuting the poor Lollards at home. But notwithstanding these persecutions, and the severest laws and proclamations against

(7) Fox, Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. B. 1. Collier's Eccles. Hist. B. 7. p. 617, &c. Rapin, &c.
(8) Walsingham, Rapin, Collier, ibid. p. 620, &c. &c.
(9) Walsingham, Rapin, Collier, ibid. p. 632, &c. &c.

them, their numbers still increased, not only among the people, but even in parliament, not only in England, but even in foreign countries, and especially in Bohemia. For there (1) John Huss and Jerome of Prague having received Wickliff's books advanced and propagated the same doctrins; for which they were both condemned to the flames, and suffered death with the most heroic fortitude. It was a most unjust sentence, contrary to all faith and the solemn engagement of a safe conduct, and drew after it the most fatal consequences. For out of their ashes a civil war was kindled; the Bohemians revolted against the emperor, and maintained and defended their opinions by arms as well as by arguments. What the opinions generally received among the Bohemians were, we may learn with some exactness from one, who had opportunities of being well informed by living and conversing some time among them, and was far from being prejudiced in their favor, Æneas Sylvius, who being afterwards chosen pope, assumed the name of Pius II. These then were (2) their opinions according

(1) Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. xv. Cap. 6 et 7. Dupin Siecle xv. Chap. 7. Lenfant. Hist. Conc. Pis. et Constance.

(2) Usser. de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu. Cap. 6. Sect. 16. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient Church of Piedmont. Chap. 22. Æneas Sylv. Hist. Bohem. Cap. 35.

Romanum præsulem reliquis episcopis parem esse.

Inter sacerdotes nullum discrimen; presbyterum non dignitatem, sed vitæ meritum efficere potiorem.

Animas e corporibus excedentes, aut in æternas e vestigio pœnas mergi, aut perpetua consequi gaudia.

Purgatorium ignem nullum inveniri.

Vanum esse orare pro mortuis, et avaritiæ sacerdotalis inventum.

Dei et sanctorum imagines delendas.

Aquarem palmarumque benedictiones irridendas.

Mendicantium religiones malos dæmonas invenisse.

Sacerdotes pauperes esse debere, solâ contentos eleemosynâ.

Liberam cuique prædicationem verbi Dei patere.

Nullum capitale peccatum, quantumvis majoris mili vitandi gratia, tolerandum.

Qui mortalis culpæ reus sit, eum neque seculari, neque ecclesiastica dignitate potiri, neque parendum ei.

Confirmationem, quam chrismate pontifices inducunt, et extremam unctionem inter ecclesiæ sacramenta minimè contineri.

Auricularem confessionem nugacem esse; sufficere sua quemque Deo in cubili suo conqueri peccata.

Baptisma fluvialis undæ, nullâ interjectâ sacri olei mixturâ recipiendum.

to him, who, we may be certain would not represent them better, if he would not represent them worse, than they were in reality.

'The pope of Rome is equal with other bishops.

'Among priests there is no difference; nor dignity, 'but merit giveth the preference.

'Souls departing out of bodies, are immediately ei- 'ther plunged into eternal punishments, or attain eter- 'nal joys.

'There is no purgatory fire.

'It is in vain to pray for the dead, and an invention 'of priestly covetousness.

'The images of God and the saints ought to be de- 'stroyed.

'The blessing of water and palm branches is ridi- 'culous.

'The religion of the mendicants was invented by evil 'demons.

'Priests ought to be poor, content with alms alone.

'Every one hath free liberty to preach the word of 'God.

'No capital sin ought to be tolerated, altho' for the 'sake of avoiding a greater evil.

'He who is guilty of mortal sin ought not to enjoy 'any secular or ecclesiastical dignity, nor is he to be 'obeyed.

'Confirmation, which the bishops celebrate with

Cœmiteriorum inanem usum, quæstus causâ repertum; quacunque tegantur tellure humana corpora nihil distare.

Templum Dei latè patentis ipsum mundum esse; coarctare majestatem ejus, qui ecclesias, monasteria, oratoriaque construunt, tanquam propitior in eis divina bonitas inveniatur.

Sacerdotales vestes, altarium ornamenta, pallas, corporalia, calices, patinas, vasaque hujusmodi nil habere momenti.

Sacerdotem quocunque loco, quocunque tempore sacrum Christi corpus conficere posse, petentibusque ministrare; sufficere, si verbis sacramentalia tantum dicat.

Suffragia sanctorum in cœlis cum Christo regnantium frustra impetrari, quæ juvare non possunt.

In canonicis horis cantandis dicendisque frustra tempus teri.

Nulla die ab opere cessandum, nisi quæ Dominica nunc appellátur.

Celebritates sanctorum prorsus rejiciendas.

Jejuniis quoque ab ecclesiis institutis, nihil inesse meriti. [Translated in the text.]

'anointing, and extreme unction, are by no means contained among the sacraments of the church.

'Auricular confession is trifling; it is sufficient for 'every one in his chamber to confess his sins unto 'God.

'Baptism ought to be celebrated without any mixture 'of holy oil.

'The use of church-yards is vain, invented for the 'sake of gain; in whatsoever ground human bodies are 'buried, it maketh no difference.

'The temple of the great God is the whole world; 'they confine his majesty, who build churches, monas-'teries, and oratories, as if the divine goodness would 'be found more propitious in them.

'Sacerdotal vestments, ornaments of altars, palls, cor-'porals, chalices, patins and vessels of this sort are of no 'moment.

'A priest in any place, at any time can consecrate the 'body of Christ, and administer it to those who desire 'it; it is sufficient, if he repeat only the sacramental 'words.

'The suffrages of the saints reigning with Christ in 'heaven are implored in vain, forasmuch as they can-'not help us.

'The time is consumed in vain in singing and saying 'the canonical hours.

'We should cease from work on no day, except that 'which is now called the Lord's day.

'The festivals of saints are altogether to be rejected.

'The fasts also instituted by the church have no me-'rit in them.'

These were the opinions of the Bohemians or Hussites, for which they fought as well as disputed against the pope and emperor. At first they were victorious under the conduct of the famous John Ziska; and when they were beaten at last, they retired into the mountains and caves, where they continued distinguished by the name of *the Bohemian brethren* till the time of the Reformation. Even in the bosom of the church of Rome there were many good men, who called aloud for a reformation in

faith as well as in morals, in doctrin as well as in disciplin. One instance is more particularly worthy of our attention. Jeronimo Savonarola (3) was a Dominican, celebrated in all Italy, and especially in Florence, for the great purity and strictness of his life and doctrin. He preached freely against the vices of the age, the luxury, avarice, and debauchery of the Roman clergy in general, and the tyranny and wickedness in particular of pope Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia. In his discourses, sermons and writings, he pressed the necessity of holding a general council and of making a general reformation: and he wrote particularly a treatise (4) intitled *The lamentation of the spouse of Christ against false apostles, or an exhortation to the faithful that they would pray unto the Lord for the renovation of the church.* But what was the fruit and consequence of all his pious zeal? He was excommunicated, he was imprisoned, he was tortured, he was burnt; which he suffered with all possible constancy on the 23d of May 1498, and in the 46th year of his age. All persons of any note or eminence bear a double character in the world, and so doth Savonarola, his admirers extolling him as the best of men and the prophet of God, his enemies reviling him as the worst of impostors and hypocrits; but if his works may speak for him, they are, in the (5) opinion of Dupin, 'full of grace and maxims of piety; he 'speaketh freely there against the vices, and teacheth the 'most pure and the most exalted morality.'

We are now arrived at the *sixteenth* century, *sæculum reformatum* as it hath been called, or the age of reformation. The materials had in great measure been collected, and the foundations had been laid deep before, but this age had the happiness of seeing the superstruc-

(3) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 5. Sect. 3. H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave p. 198. &c. Guicciardin. B. 3. toward the end. Phil. de Comines. B. 8. Chap. 19. Dupin. ibid. Chap. 4. Bayle's Dict. &c. &c.

(4) *Lamentatio Christi sponsæ adversus Pseudapostolos, sive exhortatio ad fideles, ut precentur Dominum pro renovatione ecclesiæ.* [Translated in the text.] Venet. 1537. et cum vita Savonarolæ. Paris 1674. 8°. Wharton ibid.

(5) Les ouvrages de cet auteur sont pleins d'onction et de maximes de pieté; il y parle librement contre les vices, et y enseigne la morale la plus pure et la plus relevée. [Translated in the text.] Dupin. ibid.

ture raised and completed. All the Christian world almost had groaned earnestly for a reformation: and pope Adrian himself (6) acknowleged the necessity of it, and promised to begin with reforming the court of Rome, as the source and origin of evil. Erasmus and others led the way; and Luther began (7) publicly to preach against the pope's indulgences in the year 1517, which is usually reckoned the æra of the Reformation. So that during all the dark ages of popery, from the first rise of the beast down to the Reformation, there have constantly been some true and faithful *witnesses* of Jesus Christ, who, tho' they may have fallen into some errors and mistakes, (as indeed who is altogether free from them?) yet it may charitably be presumed, held none which are contrary to the fundamentals of the Christian faith, and destructive of salvation. Many more there were without doubt than have come to our knowlege; many more might have been collected, and this deduction drawn out into a greater length: but I have studied brevity as much as I well could: and they who are desirous of seeing a larger and more particular account of *the witnesses* may find it in (8) Flaccius Illyricus, in the Centuriators of Magdeburg, in Usher, in Allix, in Spanheim, and other authors. Here only some of the principal instances are selected; but this deduction, short and defective as it is, evidently demonstrates however, that there hath not been that uninterrupted union and harmony, which the members of the church of Rome pretend and boast to have been before the Reformation: and at the same time it plainly evinces, that they betray great ignorance, as well as impertinence, in asking the question *Where was your religion before Luther?* Our religion, we see, was in the hearts and lives of many faithful witnesses; but it is sufficient, if it was no where else, that it

(6) Sleidan's Hist. of the Reformation. B. 4. Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent. B. 1. Sect 60.

(7) Sleidan. B. 1. Father Paul. B. 1. Sect. 18, &c.

(8) Matthias Flaccius in Catalogo testium veritatatis. Hist. Ecclesiast. Magdeburg. Usher de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient church of Piedmont, and the ancient churches of the Albigenses. Frederici Spanhemii Hist. Christiana et Hist. Imaginum.

was always in the Bible. "The Bible, as Chilling-
"worth (9) says, the Bible only is the religion of protes-
"tants."

15 And the seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices, in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become *the kingdoms* of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.

16 And the four and twenty elders which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces and worshipped God,

17 Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God almighty, which art and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned.

18 And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead that they should be judged, and that thou shouldst give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints and them that fear thy name, small and great, and shouldst destroy them which destroy the earth.

We are now come to the seventh and last trumpet, or the third woe-trumpet, and the seventh trumpet as well as all the trumpets being comprehended under the seventh seal, and the seventh seal and all the seals being constituent parts or members of the sealed book, it is evident that the seventh trumpet cannot any way belong to the little open book, but is plainly distinct from it, the little book being no more than an appendage to the sixth trumpet, and the contents all comprehended under it, or at least ending with it. *The forty and two months of the Gentiles treading the holy city under foot, and the* 1260 *days of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth* are 1260 synchronical years, and terminate at the same time with the fall of the Othman empire or the end of the sixth trumpet or second woe-trumpet. And

(9) Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants. Chap. 6. Sect. 56.

when *the second woe is past*, it is said, (xi. 14.) *behold, the third woe cometh quickly.* At the sounding of the seventh trumpet (ver. 15.) *the third woe* commenceth, which is rather implied than expressed, as it will be described more fully hereafter. *The third woe* brought *on the inhabitants of the earth* is the ruin and downfall of the Antichristian kingdom: and then, and not till then, according to the heavenly chorus, *the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.* St. John is rapt and hurried away as it were to a view of the happy millenium, without considering the steps preceding and conducting to it. At the same time *the four and twenty elders*, or the ministers of the church, (ver. 16, 17, 18.) are represented as praising and glorifying God for manifesting his *power* and *kingdom* more than he had done before: and give likewise an intimation of some succeeding events, *as the anger of the nations*, Gog and Magog, (xx. 8.) and *the wrath of God*, displayed in their destruction, (xx. 9.) and *the judging of the dead*, or the general judgment, (xx. 12.) *and the rewarding of all the good, small and great*, as well as *the punishing of the wicked.* Here we have only a summary account of the circumstances and occurrences of the seventh trumpet, but the particulars will be dilated and inlarged upon hereafter.

And thus are we arrived at the consummation of all things, through a series of prophecies extending from the apostles' days to the end of the world. It is this series which has been our clue to conduct us in our interpretation of these prophecies: and tho' some of them may be dark and obscure, considered in themselves, yet they receive light and illustration from others preceding and following. All together they are as it were a chain of prophecies, whereof one link depends on, and supports another. If any parts remain yet obscure and unsatisfactory, they may perhaps be cleared up by what the apostle himself hath added by way of explanation.

XXV.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE REVELATION.

PART II.

MOST of the best commentators divide the Apocalyps or Revelation into two parts, *the book* βιβλιον *sealed with seven seals,* and *the little book* βιβλαριδιον as it is called several times. But it happens unluckily, that according to their division the lesser book is made to contain as much or more than the larger: whereas in truth *the little book* is nothing more than a part of *the sealed book,* and is added as a codicil or appendix to it. If we were to divide the Revelation, as they would have it divided, into two parts, the former ending with Chap. IX, and the latter beginning with Chap. X, the whole frame of the book would be disjointed, and things would be separated, which are plainly connected together and dependent upon one another. The former part, as they agree, comprehends the book sealed with seven seals, which are all opened in order; but the seventh seal consists of the seven trumpets, and of the seven trumpets the three last are distinguished by the name of *the three woe trumpets;* so that the seven trumpets, as well as the seven seals, all belong properly to the former part. Whereas if we were to follow the other division, the trumpets would be divided, the three last trumpets would be divided from each other, the sixth trumpet itself would be divided, would begin in the former part of the book, and end in the latter, and the seventh trumpet would remain separated from the rest, which would be a strange interruption of the series and order of the prophecies, and greatly disturb and confound the course of events. The former part, instead of closing with the seventh trumpet, would then break off in the middle of the sixth trumpet; the latter part would then

commence under the sixth trumpet, and after that would follow the seventh and last trumpet, and after this the general subject of the Revelation would be resumed from the beginning of the Christian æra, which instead of coming in after so many events posterior in point of time, ought certainly to be the beginning of the latter part. For we would also divide the Revelation into two parts, or rather the book so divides itself. For the former part proceeds, as we have seen, in a regular and successive series from the apostle's days to the consummation of all things. Nothing can be added, but it must fall some where or other within the compass of this period; it must in some measure be a resumption of the same subjects; and this latter part may most properly be considered as an inlargement and illustration of the former. Several things, which were only touched upon, and delivered in dark hints before, require to be more copiously handled, and placed in a stronger light. It was said that *the beast should make war against the witnesses, and overcome them:* but who or what *the beast* is, we may reasonably conjecture indeed, but the apostle himself will more surely explain. The transactions of the seventh trumpet are all summed up and comprised in a few verses, but we shall see the particulars branched out and inlarged into as many chapters. In short this latter part is designed as a supplement to the former, to complete what was deficient, to explain what was dubious, to illustrate what was obscure: and as the former described more the destinies of the Roman empire, so this latter relates more to the fates of the Christian church.

19 And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thundrings, and an earthquake, and great hail.

This last verse of the eleventh chapter, in my opinion, should have been made the first verse of the twelfth

chapter; for it appears to be the beginning of a new subject. It is somewhat like the beginning of Isaiah's vision; (vi. 1.) *I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne* (the ark) *high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple.* It is somewhat like the beginning of St. John's prophetic visions; (iv. 1, 2.) *I looked, and behold a door was opened in heaven; and behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne.* This is much in the same spirit: *And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament;* that is, more open discoveries were now made, and the mystery of God was revealed to the prophet. *Lightnings, and voices, and thundrings, and an earthquake, and great hail,* are the usual concomitants and attendants of the divine presence, and especially at the giving of new laws and new revelations. So at mount Sinai (Exod. xx. 16, &c.) *there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, and the whole mount quaked greatly.* So likewise in this very book of the Apocalyps, before the opening of the seven seals (iv. 5.) there were *lightnings, and thundrings, and voices.* So again before the sounding of the seven trumpets (viii. 5.) *there were voices, and thundrings, and lightnings, and an earthquake:* and with as much reason they are made in this place the signs and preludes of the revelations and judgments, which are to follow. It is no just objection, that a new subject is supposed to begin with the conjunction *and;* for this is frequent in the stile of the Hebrews; some books, as Numbers, Joshua, the two books of Samuel, and others, begin with *Vau* or *and;* and the same objection would hold equally against beginning the division with the first verse of the next chapter.

CHAP. XII.

1 AND there appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman cloathed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars:

2 And she being with child, cried, traveling in birth, and pained to be delivered.

3 And there appeared another wonder in heaven, and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads, and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his head.

4 And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.

5 And she brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and *to* his throne.

6 And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred *and* threescore days.

St. John resumes his subject from the beginning, and represents the church (ver. 1, 2.) as a woman, and a mother bearing children unto Christ. She is *cloathed by the sun,* invested with the rays of Jesus Christ the sun of righteousness; having *the moon,* the (1) Jewish new-moons and festivals as well as all sublunary things, *under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars,* an emblem of her being under the light and guidance of the twelve apostles. *And she being with child, cried, traveling in birth, and pained to be delivered.* St. Paul hath made use of the same metaphor, and applied it to his preaching and propagating of the gospel in the midst of tribulation and persecution. (Gal. iv. 19.) *My little children of whom I travel in birth again, until Christ be formed in you.* But the words of St. John are much stronger, and more emphatically express the pangs, and

(1) A learned correspondent obseryes, that the Jewish religion is aptly compared to the moon, as its light is not its own, but furnished by the Christian religion, to which it relates, and wherein its types are accomplished.

struggles, and torments, which the church endured from the first publication of the gospel to the time of Constantine the great, when she was in some measure eased of her pains, and brought forth a deliverer. Mr. Whiston carries the comparison farther. (Essay on the Revelation. Part 3. Vision 3.) "For as the time of "gestation from the conception to the birth in women "with child, is known to be 40 weeks or 280 days; so "it is as well known, that from the first rise of our "Saviour's kingdom at his resurrection and ascension "A. D. 33. till the famous proclamation and edict, for "the universal liberty and advancement of Christianity "by Constantine and Licinius A. D. 313, which put an "end to the pangs of birth in the heaviest persecution "that ever was then known, was exactly 280 years," reckoning according to the prophetical account a day for a year. At the same time *there appeared* (ver. 3.) *a great dragon;* which is the well known sign or symbol of the Devil and Satan, and of his agents and instruments. We find the kings and people of Egypt, who were the great persecutors of the primitive church of Israel, distinguished by this title in several places of the Old Testament: (Psal. lxxiv. 13. Is. li. 9. Ezek. xxix. 3.) and with as much reason and propriety may the people and emperors of Rome, who were the great persecutors of the primitive church of Christ, be called by the same name, as they are actuated by the same principle. For that the Roman empire was here figured, the characters and attributes of the dragon plainly evince. He is *a great red dragon:* and purple or scarlet was the distinguishing color of the Roman emperors, consuls, and generals; as it hath been since of the popes and cardinals. His *seven heads,* as the angel afterwards (xvii. 9, 10.) explains the vision, allude to the seven mountains upon which Rome was built, and to the seven forms of government, which successively prevailed there. His *ten horns* typify the ten kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided; and the *seven crowns upon his heads* denote, that at this time the imperial power was in Rome, the high city, as Pro-

pertius (2) describes it, seated on seven hills, which presides over the whole world. *His tail* also (ver. 4.) *drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth:* that is, he subjected the third part of the princes and potentates of the earth: and the Roman empire, as we have seen before, is represented as *the third part* of the world. *He stood before the woman, which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born:* and the Roman emperors and magistrates kept a jealous watchful eye over the Christians from the beginning. As Pharaoh laid snares for the male children of the Hebrews, and Herod for the infant Christ, the son of Mary; so did the Roman dragon for the mystic Christ, the son of the church, that he might destroy him even in his infancy. But notwithstanding the jealousy and envy of the Romans, the gospel was widely diffused and propagated, and the church brought many children under Christ, and in time such as were promoted to the empire. *She brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron.* (ver. 5.) It was predicted that Christ should rule over the nations, (Psal. ii. 9.) *Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel:* but Christ, who is himself invisible in the heavens, ruleth visibly in Christian magistrates, princes, and emperors. It was therefore promised before to Christians in general, (ii. 26, 27.) *He that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations (And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers) even as I received of my Father.* But it should seem that Constantine was here particularly intended, for whose life (3) the dragon Galerius laid many snares, but he providentially escaped them all; and notwithstanding all opposition, *was caught up unto the throne of God,* was not

(2) Septem urbs alta jugis, toti quæ præsidet orbi.
[Translated in the text.] Propert. Lib. 3. El. 11. ver. 57.

(3) Euseb. de Vita Constant. Lib. 1. Cap. 20. Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. Cap. 24. Auctor ignotus ad calcem Amm. Marcellini. p. 656. Edit. Valesii Paris. 1681.

only secured by the divine protection, but was advanced to the imperial throne, called *the throne of God*, for (Rom. xiii. 1.) *there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God.* He too *ruled all nations with a rod of iron*; for he had not only the Romans, who before had persecuted the church, under his dominion, but also (4) subdued the Scythians, Sarmatians, and other barbarous nations, who had never before been subject to the Roman empire: and as the learned (5) Spanheim informs us, there are still extant medals and coins of his with these inscriptions, *the subduer of the barbarous nations, the conqueror of all nations, every where a conqueror* and the like. What is added (ver. 6.) of *the woman's flying into the wilderness for a thousand two hundred and three score days* is said by way of prolepsis or anticipation. For the war in heaven between Michael and the dragon, and other subsequent events, were prior in order of time to the flight of the woman into the wilderness: but before the prophet passeth on to a new subject, he giveth a general account of what happened to the woman afterwards, and entereth more into the particulars in their proper place.

7 And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels:

8 And prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven.

9 And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.

10 And I heard a loud voice, saying in heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for

(4) Euseb. de Vita Constant. Lib. 4. Cap. 5, &c.

(5) Spanhemii Dissert. Decima Tertia de Præstantia et Usu Numism. Antiqu. p. 636. 638. Observat. ad Juliani Imp. Orat. I. in laudem Constantii. p. 66.

the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accuseth them before our God day and night.

11 And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.

12 Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabiters of the earth, and of the sea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.

It might reasonably be presumed, that all the powers of idolatry would be strenuously exerted against the establishment of Christianity, and especially against the establishment of a Christian on the imperial throne: and these struggles and contentions between the Heathen and the Christian religions are represented (ver. 7.) by *war in heaven* between the angels of darkness and angels of light. Michael was (Dan. x. 21. xii. 1.) the tutelar angel and protector of the Jewish church. He performs here the same office of champion for the Christian church. He and the good angels, who are *sent forth* (Hebr. i. 14.) *to minister to the heirs of salvation,* were the invisible agents on one side, as the devil and his evil angels were on the other. The visible actors in the cause of Christianity were the believing emperors and ministers of the word, the martyrs and confessors; and in support of idolatry were the persecuting emperors and heathen magistrates together with the whole train of priests and sophists. This contest lasted several years, and the final issue of it was (ver. 8, 9.) that the Christian prevailed over the Heathen religion; the Heathens were deposed from all rule and authority, and the Christians were advanced to dominion and empire in their stead. Our Saviour said to his disciples casting devils out of the bodies of men, (Luke x. 18.) *I beheld Satan as lightning, fall from heaven.* In the same figure Satan fell from heaven, and *was cast out into the earth,* when he was thrust out of the imperial throne, *and his angels were cast out with him,* not only all the heathen priests and

officers civil and military were cashiered, but their very gods and demons, who before were adored for their divinity, became the subjects of contempt and execration. It is very remarkable, that Constantine himself and the Christians of his time describe his conquests under the same image, as if they had understood that this prophecy had received its accomplishment in him. Constantine himself, (6) in his epistle to Eusebius and other bishops concerning the re-edifying and repairing of churches, saith, that 'liberty being now restored, and '*that dragon* being removed from the administration of 'public affairs, by the providence of the great God; 'and by my ministry, I esteem the great power of God 'to have been made manifest even to all.' Moreover (7) a picture of Constantine was set up over the palace gate, with the cross over his head, and under his feet *the great enemy of mankind, who persecuted the church by the means of impious tyrants, in the form of a dragon* transfixed with a dart thro' the midst of his body, and falling headlong into the depth of the sea; in allusion, it is said expresly, to the divine oracles in the books of the prophets, where that evil spirit is called the dragon and the crooked serpent. Upon this victory of the church, there is introduced (ver. 10.) a triumphant hymn of thanksgiving for the depression of idolatry, and exaltation of true religion: for now it was no longer in the power of the heathen persecutors, as Satan accused holy Job before God, to accuse the innocent Christians before the Roman governors, as the perpetrators of all crimes, and the causers of all calamities. It was not by

(6) Νυνι δε της ελευθεριας αποδοθεισης, και τȣ δρακοντος εκεινȣ απο της των κοινων διοικησεως, τȣ Θεȣ τȣ μεγιστȣ προνοιᾳ ἡμετερᾳ δ' ὑπηρεσιᾳ εκδιωχθεντος, ἡγȣμαι και παρι φανερᾳ γεγενησθαι την θειαν δυναμιν, κ. τ. λ. Nunc vero cum libertas restituta sit, et draco ille providentia quidem Dei optimi maximi, ministerio autem nostro a reipublicæ administratione submotus; equidem existimo divinam potentiam omnibus clarissimè innotuisse, &c. [Translated in the text.] Euseb. de vita Constant. Lib. 2. Cap. 46. Socratis Hist. Eccles. Lib. 1. Cap. 9. Theodoret. Lib. 1. Cap. 15.

(7) Euseb. de Vita Constant. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. τον δε εχθρον και πολεμιον θηρα, τον την εκκλησιαν τȣ Θεȣ δια της των αθεων πολιορκησαντα τυραννιδος,—εν δρακοντος μορφη. hostem illum et inimicum generis humani, qui impiorum tyrannorum operâ ecclesiam Dei oppugnaverat, sub draconis forma. [Translated in the text.]

temporal means or arms that the Christians obtained this victory, (ver. 11.) but by spiritual, by the merits and death of their Redeemer, by their constant profession of the truth, and by their patient suffering of all kinds of tortures even unto death: and the blood of the martyrs hath been often called *the seed of the church.* This victory was indeed (ver. 12.) matter of joy and triumph to the blessed angels and glorified saints in heaven, by whose sufferings it was in great measure obtained; but still new woes are threatened *to the inhabiters of the earth;* for tho' the dragon was deposed, yet was he not destroyed; tho' idolatry was depressed, yet was it not wholly suppressed; there was still many Pagans intermixed with the Christians, and the devil would incite fresh troubles and disturbances on earth, *because he knoweth that he hath but a short time,* it would not be long before the Pagan religion should be totally abolished, and the Christian religion prevail in all the Roman empire.

13 And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-*child.*

14 And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place: where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.

15 And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood, after the woman; that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood.

16 And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon cast out of his mouth.

17 And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which kept the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.

When the dragon was thus deposed from the imperial

throne, and *cast unto the earth,* (ver. 13.) he still continued to persecute the church with equal malice, though not with equal power. He made several attempts to restore the Pagan idolatry in the reign of Constantine, and afterwards in the reign of Julian; he traduced and abused the Christian religion by such writers as Hierocles, Libanius, Eunapius, and others of the same stamp and character; he rent and troubled the church with heresies and schisms; he stirred up the favorers of the Arians, and especially the kings of the Vandals in Africa, to persecute and destroy the orthodox Christians. These things, as (8) Eusebius saith upon one of these occasions, some malicious and wicked demon, envying the prosperity of the church, effected. But the church was still under the protection of the empire, (ver. 14.) *and to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle.* As God said to the children of Israel, (Exod. xix. 4.) *Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles wings, and brought you unto myself;* so the church was supported and carried as it were on eagles wings: but the similitude is the more proper in this case, an *eagle* being the Roman ensign, and the *two wings* alluding probably to the division that was then made of the eastern and western empire. In this manner was the church protected, and these wings were given, *that she might fly into the wilderness,* into a place of retirement and security, *from the face of the serpent.* Not that she fled into the wilderness at this time, but several years afterwards; and there *she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time,* that is three prophetic years and a half, which is the same period with the *thousand two hundred and threescore days* or years beforementioned. So long the church is to remain in a desolate and afflicted state, during the reign of Antichrist; as Elijah, (1 Kings xvii. xviii. Luke iv. 25, 26.) while idolatry and famin prevailed in Israel, was secretly

(8) Ταῦτα μεν ουν φθονῳ [forsan φθονερῳ] τις και πονηρῳ δαιμων, τοις της εκκλησιας βασκαινων αγαθοις καθηργαζετο. Hæc livor invidiæ, et malignus dæmon ecclesiæ felicitatem semper ægre ferens, in nostram perniciem machinatus est. [Translated in the text.] Euseb. de Vita Constant. Lib. 2. Cap. 73.

fed and nourished three years and six months in the wilderness. But before the woman fled into the wilderness, *the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood,* (ver. 15.) with intent to wash her away. *Waters* in the stile of the Apocalyps (xvii. 16.) signify *peoples* and *nations;* so that here was a great inundation of various nations, excited by the dragon or the friends and patrons of the old idolatry, to oppress and overwhelm the Christian religion. Such appeared plainly to have been the design of the dragon, when (9) Stilicho, prime minister of the emperor Honorius, first invited the barbarous heathen nations, the Goths, Alans, Sueves, and Vandals, to invade the Roman empire, hoping by their means to raise his son Eucherius to the throne, who from a boy was an enemy to the Christians, and threatened to signalize the beginning of his reign with the restoration of the Pagan, and abolition of the Christian religion. Nothing indeed was more likely to produce the ruin and utter subversion of the Christian church, than the irruptions of so many barbarous Heathen nations, into the Roman empire. But the event proved contrary to human appearance and expectation; *the earth swallowed up the flood;* (ver. 16.) the Barbarians were rather swallowed up by the Romans, than the Romans by the Barbarians; the Heathen conquerors instead of imposing their own, submitted to the religion

(9) Interea comes Stilicho, Vandalorum imbellis, avaræ, perfidæ et dolosæ gentis genere editus, parvipendens quod sub imperatore imperabat, Eucherium filium suum, sicut a plerisque traditur, jam inde Christianorum persecutionem a puero privatoque meditantem, in imperium quoque modo sustinere nitebatur. Quamobrem Alaricum, cunctamque Gothorum gentem, &c. —Eucherius, qui ad conciliandum sibi favorem Paganorum, restitutione templorum et eversione ecclesiarum imbuturum se regni primordia minabatur, &c. ['In the mean time Stilicho his prime minister descended from] the cowardly, avaricious, perfidious, and crafty nation of the Vandals, not duly valuing the authority which he had under the emperor, endavoured by every means in his power, to raise his son Eucherius to the empre, who, as many have told us, from his earliest years, and even when a private person, designed the persecution of the Christians. For this reason he invited Alaric and the whole nation of the Goths, &c. Eucherius, who to procure to himself the favour of the Pagans, threatened to signalize the commencement of his reign with the restoration of Paganism, and the destruction of Christianity, &c.'] Orosii Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 38. p. 571. Edit. Havercamp. Vide etiam Jornandem de Rebus Geticis et de Regn. Succes. et Paulum Diaconum, Lib. 13.

of the conquered Christians; and they not only embraced the religion, but affected even the laws, the manners, the customs, the language, and the very name of Romans, so that the victors were in a manner absorbed and lost among the vanquished. This course not succeeding according to probable expectation, the dragon did not therefore desist from his purpose, (ver. 17.) but only took another method of persecuting the true sons of the church, as we shall see in the next chapter. It is said that he *went to make war with the remnant of her seed, who kept the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus;* which implies that at this time there was only a *remnant,* that corruptions were greatly increased, and *the faithful were minished from among the children of men.*

CHAP. XIII.

1 AND I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads, and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy.

2 And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as *the feet* of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority.

3 And I saw one of his heads, as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondered after the beast.

4 And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast: and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who *is* like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him?

5 And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies; and power was given unto him to continue forty *and* two months.

6 And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against

God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.

7 And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.

8 And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.

9 If any man have an ear, let him hear.

10 He that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity: He that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.

Here *the beast* is described at large, who was only mentioned before: (xi. 7.) and a *beast* in the prophetic stile is a tyrannical idolatrous empire. The kingdom of God and of Christ is never represented under the image of a *beast*. As Daniel (vii. 2, 3.) beheld *four great beasts*, representing the four great empires, *come up from* a stormy *sea*, that is from the commotions of the world; so St. John (ver. 1.) saw this *beast* in like manner *rise up out of the sea*. He was said before (xi. 7.) to ascend εκ της αβυσσου, *out of the abyss* or *bottomless pit*, and it is said afterwards (xvii. 8.) that he shall ascend εκ της αβυσσου *out of the abyss* or *bottomless pit*; and here he is said to ascend εκ της θαλασσης, *out of the sea*; so that *the sea* and *abyss* or *bottomless pit* are in these passages the same. No doubt is to be made, that this beast was designed to represent the Roman empire; for thus far both ancients and moderns, papists and protestants are agreed: the only doubt and controversy is, whether it was Rome Pagan or Christian, imperial or papal, which may perhaps be fully and clearly determined in the sequel.

St. John saw this beast *rising* out of the sea, but the Roman empire was risen and established long before St. John's time; and therefore this must be the Roman empire, not in its then present, but in some future shape and

form; and it arose in another shape and form, after it was broken to pieces by the incursions of the northern nations. The beast hath *seven heads and ten horns*, which are the well known marks and signals of the Roman empire, the *seven heads* alluding to the seven mountains whereon Rome was situated, and to the seven forms of government which successively prevailed there, and the *ten horns* signifying the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided. It is remarkable that the dragon had *seven crowns upon his heads*, but the beast hath *upon his horns ten crowns*; so that there had been in the mean while a revolution of power from the *heads* of the dragon to the *horns* of the beast, and the sovranty, which before was exercised by Rome alone, was now transferred and divided among ten kingdoms: but the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till after it was become Christian. Altho' the heads had lost their crowns, yet they still retained *the name of blasphemy*. In all its heads, in all its forms of government Rome was still guilty of iddatry and blasphemy. Imperial Rome was called, and delighted to be called, (1) *the eternal city, the heavenly city, the goddess of the earth, the goddess*;

(1) Urbem æternam ['the eternal city.'] Ammian. Marcell. Lib. 14. Cap. 6. p. 19. Edit. Valesii. Paris 1681. Urbis ab æternæ, &c. ['of the eternal city.'] Ausonii Epigram. 3 de Fastis. ϑεανοπολει Ρωμη ['Rome the heavenly city.'] Athenæi Lib. 1. p. 20. Edit. Casaubon. Terrarum dea, gentiumque Roma. Cui par est nihil, et nihil secundum ['Rome the goddess of the earth, and of all nations, to which nothing is similar, or cometh near.'] Martial. Lib. 12. Epigram. 8. Ita Romam, orbis caput, tanquam cæleste aliquod numen, seu *terrarum deam gentiumque* a Bilbilitano vate dictam divinis honoribus, templis, sacerdotibus, ædituis, ipsa ΘΕΑΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ appellatione, quod plures Græcarum illarum civitatum nummi ostendunt, sibi condecorandam existimarunt. Quo autem referendum mihi videtur illud *nomen blasphemiæ*, quod septem capitibus inscriptum gestasse legitur bestia in sacro Revelationum libro, et quod Hieronymus ac Prosper ad *urbis æternæ* appellationem retulerunt Romæ cum alibi, tum in nummis ejus itidem familiarem. ['Thus, as the coins of many of those Greek cities shew, they thought that Rome the metropolis of the world, as she had been called by the poet Martial, as some heavenly divinity, or the goddess of the earth and of all nations, was to be dignified with divine honours, temples, priests, ministers, and the very title of THE GODDESS ROME. To all which it seems to me we are to refer that *name of blasphemy* which in the sacred book of the Revelation the beast is said to have had inscribed on her 'seven heads' and which Jerome and Prosper have referred to her being called 'the eternal city,' a name frequently given to Rome both in coins and otherwise,'] Spanhemii Dissert. de Præstant. et Usu Numm. Ant. Sect. 3. p. 138. Vol. 1.

and had her temples and altars with incense and sacrifices offered up to her: and how the papal Rome likewise hath arrogated to herself divine titles and honors, there will be a fitter occasion of showing in the following part of this description.

As Daniel's fourth beast (vii. 7.) was without a name, and *devoured and brake in pieces* the three former: so this beast (ver. 2.) is also without a name, and partakes of the nature and qualities of the three former, having *the body of a leopard*, which was the third beast or Grecian empire, and *the feet of a bear*, which was the second beast or Persian empire, and *the mouth of a lion*, which was the first beast or Babylonian empire: and consequently this must be the same as Daniel's fourth beast, or the Roman empire. But still it is not the same beast, the same empire entirely, but with some variation; *and* (2) *the dragon gave him his power* δυναμιν or his armies, *and his seat* θρονον or his imperial throne, *and great authority* or juris-

(2) Imperium Romano-Papale tunc natum videtur, quum papam omnium ecclesiarum caput esse dixit Justinianus. V. Cod. L. 1. T. 1. A. D. 533. et 534. idque non verbo tantum significavit sed missis ad eum episcopis, quasi legatis. Id Gregorius I. in fine seculi sexti in episcopos Hispaniæ, Galliæ, &c. satis superbe exercuit; successores seculi septimi multo etiam magis. In utroque seculo faventibus papis invaluere imaginum cultus, et sanctorum invocatio: nam hic ipse Gregorius litaniis inseruit nomen beatæ virginis Mariæ. En igitur blasphemias. Seculo octavo A. D. 727. imperium civile Romæ, et ducatûs Romani, excommunicato pulsoque imperatore Græco, arripuit papa (teste Anastasio et Sigonio de Regno Italiæ L. 3.) Gregorius II. Interea non orthodoxi, i. e. papis dissentientes, infames, exlorres, intestabiles impp. legibus facti sunt. V. Cod. in quo canones æquantur legibus, &c. Nonne hæc omnia satis clare præstant *magnam illam bestiæ jam ortæ potestatem a dracone traditam, &c.* ['The Roman-Papal empire seems then to have arisen, when Justinian called the Pope the head of all churches, and this he did not in word only, but by sending Bishops to him as ambassadors. Gregory I. at the end of the sixth century abused this concession, by treating in a very insolent manner the Bishops of Spain, France, &c. and his successors in the seventh century still more. In both these centuries, by the countenance of the popes, the worshipping of images and the invocation of saints much prevailed. For this very Gregory inserted the name of the blessed Virgin Mary in the Litany. Behold then the blasphemies. In the eighth century, A. D. 727, Gregory II. seized the civil government of the city and dutchy of Rome, having excommunicated and expelled the Greek emperor, (as Anastasius and also Sigonius concerning the kingdom of Italy, Book 3. testify.) In the mean time the orthodox, that is, they who resisted the popes were declared out-laws, infamous, aliens, and incapable of appearing as witnesses. See the Codex in which the Canons of the church are put upon an equal footing with the laws of the empire, &c. Do not all these things sufficiently shew that great power was given by the dragon to the beast who was now risen, &c.'] Mr. Mann's MS.

diction over all the parts of his empire. *The beast* therefore is the successor and substitute of *the dragon* or of the idolatrous heathen Roman empire: and what other idolatrous power hath succeeded to the heathen emperors in Rome, all the world is a judge and a witness. *The dragon* having failed in his purpose of restoring the old heathen idolatry, delegates his power to *the beast*, and thereby introduces a new species of idolatry, nominally different, but essentially the same, the worship of angels and saints instead of the gods and demigods of antiquity.

Another mark, whereby the beast was peculiarly distinguished, was (ver. 3) *one of his heads as it were wounded to death.* It will appear hereafter, that this head was the sixth head, for *five were fallen* (xvii. 10.) before St. John's time: and the sixth head was that of the Cæsars or emperors, there having been before kings, and consuls, and dictators, and decemvirs, and military tribunes with consular authority. The sixth head was *as it were wounded to death,* when the Roman empire was overturned by the northern nations, an end was put to the very name of emperor in Momyllus Augustulus: or rather, as the government of the Gothic kings was (3) much the same as that of the emperors with only a change of the name, this head was more effectually *wounded to death,* when Rome was reduced to a poor dukedom, and made tributary to the exarchate of Ravenna: and Sigonius, who hath written the best of these times and of these affairs, includes the history of the Gothic kings in his history *of the western empire.* But not only one of his heads was as it were wounded to death, but *his deadly wound was healed.* If it was the sixth head which was wounded, that wound could not be healed by the rising of the seventh head, as interpreters commonly conceive; the same head which was wounded, must be healed; and this was effected by the pope and people of Rome revolting from the exarch of Ravenna, and proclaiming Charles the great Augustus and emperor

(3) — regnum veteris imperii ex omni parti simillimum. ['The government was in every respect very similar to that under the ancient empire.'] Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 16. Ann. 494.

of the Romans. Here the wounded imperial head was *healed* again, and hath subsisted ever since. At this time, partly thro' the pope, and partly thro' the emperor, supporting and strengthening each other, the Roman name again became formidable: *and all the world wondered after the beast, and* (ver. 4.) *they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast, and they worshipped the beast, saying; Who is like unto the beast? Who is able to make war with him?* No kingdom or empire was *like* that of the beast, it had not a parallel upon earth, and it was in vain for any to *resist* or *oppose* it, it prevailed and triumphed over all; and *all the world* in submitting thus to the religion of the beast, did in effect submit again to the religion of the dragon, it being the old idolatry with new names. The worshipping of demons and idols is in effect the worshipping of devils.

Wonderful as the beast was, his words and actions (ver. 5—8) are no less wonderful. He perfectly resembles *the little horn* in Daniel. As the little horn (Dan. vii. 8, 25.) hath *a mouth speaking great things*, and *spake great words against the most High; so there was given unto the beast a mouth speaking great things, and he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God.* As the little horn (Dan. vii. 21.) *made war with the saints, and prevailed against them; so it was given unto the beast to make war with the saints and to overcome them.* As the little horn prospered (Dan. vii. 25.) *until a time, and times, and the dividing of time*, that is three prophetic years and a half; so *power was given unto the beast to continue*, to practise and prosper, *forty and two months*, which is exactly the same portion of time as three years and a half. We see that not only the same images, but almost the same words are employed; and the portraits being so perfectly alike, it might fairly be presumed, if there was no other argument, that they were both drawn for the same person: and having before clearly discovered who sat for the one, we cannot now be at any loss to determin who sat for the other. It is the Roman beast in his last state or under his seventh head: and he hath *a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies;* and

what can be *greater things and blasphemies*, than the (4) claims of *universal bishop, infallible judge of all controversies, sovran of kings*, and *disposer of kingdoms, vicegerent of Christ*, and *God upon earth!* He hath also power ποιησαι *to continue* or rather to practise, to prevail, and prosper, *forty and two months*. Some read ποιησαι πολεμον, to *make war*, not rightly understanding, I suppose, what was meant by ποιησαι alone; but it signifies to *practise*, to *prevail*, and *prosper*, as *the* words עשה and ποιησαι are (5) used by Daniel and the Greek transslators. It doth not therefore follow, that the beast is *to continue to exist* for no longer a term, but he is *to practise, to prosper and prevail forty and two months;* as *the holy city* (xi. 2.) *is to be troden under foot of the Gentiles forty and two months* which are the 1260 days or years of the reign of Antichrist. But if by *the beast* be understood the Heathen Roman empire, the Heathen Roman empire, instead of subsisting 1260, did not subsist 400 years after the date of this prophecy.

After this general account of the blasphemies and exploits of the beast, there follows a specification of the particulars. *He opened his mouth in blasphemy against God.* Blasphemy against God may be said to be of two kinds, not only speaking dishonourably of the supreme Being, but likewise attributing to the creature what belongs to the Creator, as in idolatry; which is often the sense of the word in scripture; as in Isaiah (lxv. 7.) *They have burnt incense upon the mountains, and blasphemed me upon the hills;* and in several other places. He *blasphemes the name of God* by assuming the divine titles and honors to himself, and as it is expressed in the Wisdom of Solomon, (xiv. 21.) by *ascribing unto stones and stocks the incommunicable name.* He *blasphemes*

(4) See the Introduction to Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.

(5) ועשתה והצליחה και εποιησε, και ευωδωθη. et faciet, et prosperabitur, *and it practised and prospered.* Dan. viii. 12. והצליח ועשה. και κατευθυνει, και ποιησει. et prosperabitur, et faciet. *and shall prosper, and practise*, ver. 24. ויעשה בהם והחזיק. και ποιησει εν αυτοις, και κατισχυσει. et faciet in eis, et confortabitur, *and shall deal against them, and shall prevail.* Dan. xi. 7. ויעשה. και ποιησει. et faciet, *and he shall do exploits.* ver. 28. See also ver. 30.

the tabernacle of God, his temple and his church, by calling true Christians, who are the house of God, schismatics and heretics, and anathematizing them accordingly: or as you may understand it, by perverting the places dedicated to the worship of saints and angels. He *blasphemes them that dwell in heaven,* angels and glorified saints, by idolatrous worship and impious adoration; and disgraces their acts, and vilifies their memories, by fabulous legends and lying miracles.

So much for his blasphemies; nor are his exploits less extraordinary. *It was given unto him to make war with the saints and to overcome them:* and who can make any computation, or even frame any conception of the numbers of pious Christians who have fallen a sacrifice to the bigotry and cruelty of Rome? Mede upon the place (6) hath observed from good authorities,

(6) Prima ejus expeditio incubuit in Albigenses et Waldenses, et si quo alio nomine tunc appellati sint veri Christi cultores: quorum tanta strages edita fuit ut per Galliam solam, si P. Perionius in ejus belli historia rectè calculum inierit, occisa sint ad *decies centena hominum millia.* Ab origine Jesuitarum, ad annum 1480, hoc est, paulo pluribus quam 30 annis, orthodoxorum *nongenta* fere *millia* fuisse trucidata, notat Balduinus de Antichristo. In Belgio solo, idque manu solum carnisicis, sævus ille pugil Romanæ sedis dux Albanus, ad 36 animarum millia, se authore, intra paucos annos sublata gloriatus est. Testatur Vergerius, qui optime novit, Inquisitionem, ut vocant, hæreticæ pravitatis vix triginta annorum spatio, *centum quinquaginta* Christianorum *millia* diversis afflictionum generibus consumpsisse. Fatetur Sanderus infinitos Lollhardos et Sacramentarios in tota Europa ignibus traditos fuisse; quos tamen ait ille non a papa et episcopis, sed a politicis magistratibus neci datos fuisse. Nimirum sic juxta prophetiam rem geri oportuit; nam de *sæculari bestia* dicitur, quod sanctis bellum faceret, eosque vinceret. [' His first expedition was directed against the Albigenses and Waldenses, and against the true worshippers of Christ, by whatever other name they were called: of whom so dreadful a slaughter was made, that in France alone, if P. Perionius, in his history of this war, has made a correct calculation, there perished ten hundred thousand.—Baldwin in his treatise concerning Antichrist observes, that from the first institution of the Jesuits to the year 1480, that is in little more than 30 years, nearly nine hundred thousand of the orthodox were slain. In the Netherlands alone, that barbarous defender of the Roman see, the Duke of Alva boasted, that within a few years he had caused to be cut off to the amount of thirty-six thousand souls, and that by the hand of the common executioner alone. Vergier, who was well acquainted with the subject, affirms, that the Inquisition of heretical depravity, as they style themselves, had destroyed, by various kinds of torture, within the space of thirty years, an hundred and fifty thousand Christians. Sanders confesses that an infinite number of Lollards and Sacramentarians were delivered to the flames throughout Europe, who, however, he declares, were not put to death by the Pope and Bishops, but the civil magistrates. And thus indeed, accord-

that in the war with the Albigenses and Waldenses there perished of these poor creatures in France alone *a million.* From the first institution of the Jesuits to the year 1480, that is in little more than thirty years, *nine hundred thousand* orthodox Christians were slain. In the Netherlands alone, the Duke of Alva boasted, that within a few years he had dispatched to the amount of *thirty-six thousand* souls, and those all by the hand of the common executioner. In the space of scarce thirty years, the Inquisition destroyed by various kinds of tortures *a hundred and fifty thousand* Christians. Sanders himself confesses, that an innumerable multitude of Lollards and Sacramentarians were burnt throughout all Europe, who yet, he says, were not put to death by the pope and bishops, but by the civil magistrates; which perfectly agrees with this prophecy, for of *the secular beast* it is said, that he should *make war with the saints, and overcome them.* No wonder that by these means he should obtain an universal authority *over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations,* and establish his dominion in all the countries of the western Roman empire: and that they should not only submit to all his decrees, but even adore his person, except the faithful few, whose names, as citizens of heaven, were inrolled in the registers of life. Let the Romanists boast therefore that theirs is the *catholic church* and *universal empire;* this is so far from being any evidence of the truth, that it is the very brand infixed by the spirit of prophecy.

It was customary with our Saviour, when he would have his auditors pay a particular attention to what he had been saying, to add, *He who hath ears to hear, let him hear.* St. John repeats the same admonition at the end of each of the seven epistles to the seven churches of Asia, and here in the conclusion of his description of the beast, (ver. 9.) *If any man hath an ear, let him hear:* and certainly the description of the beast is deserving of the highest attention upon many accounts, and particu-

ing to the prophecy, was the event to be; for of the *secular beast* it is said that he should make war against the saints, and should overcome them.'] Mede, p. 503, 504.

larly because the right interpretation of the Apocalyps turneth upon it, as one of its main hinges. It is added, by way of consolation to the church, that these enemies of God and of Christ, represented under the character of the beast, shall suffer the law of retaliation, and be as remarkably punished and tormented themselves, as they punished and tormented others, (ver. 10.) *He who leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity; he who killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword.* Such a promise might administer some comfort; and indeed it would be wanted; for the patience and the faith of the saints would be tried to the utmost during the reign of the beast. *Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.* Of all the trials and persecutions of the church this would be the most severe, and exceed those of the primitive times both in degree and in duration.

11 And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.

12 And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed.

13 And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men,

14 And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by *the means* of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast, saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword, and did live.

15 And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast, should be killed.

16 And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads:

17 And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name,

18 Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred threescore *and* six.

From the description of *the ten horned beast* or Roman state in general, the prophet passeth to that of *the two-horned beast* or Roman church in particular. *The beast with ten crowned horns* is the Roman empire as divided into ten kingdoms; *the beast with two horns like a lamb* is the Roman hierarchy, or body of the clergy regular and secular. This beast is otherwise called *the false prophet,* as we shall see in several instances; than which there cannot be a stronger or plainer argument to prove that false doctors or teachers were particularly designed. For *the false prophet* no more than *the beast* is a single man, but a body or succession of men propagating false doctrins, and teaching lies for sacred truths. As the first beast *rose up out of the sea,* that is out of the wars and tumults of the world; so this beast (ver. 11.) *groweth up out of the earth* like plants silently and without noise; and the greatest prelates have often been raised from monks and men of the lowest birth and parentage. *He had two horns like a lamb;* he had, both regular and secular, the appearance of a lamb; he derived his powers from the lamb, and pretended to be like the lamb all meekness and mildness. But *spake as a dragon,* he had a voice of terror like the dragon or Roman emperors in usurping divine titles and honors, in commanding idolatry, and in persecuting and slaying the true worshippers of God and faithful servants of Jesus Christ. He is an ecclesiastical person, but intermixeth himself much in civil affairs. He is the prime minister, adviser and mover of *the first beast,* or the beast before mentioned, (ver. 12.) *He exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him.* He holdeth *imperium in imperio,* an empire within an empire; claimeth a temporal au-

thority as well as a spiritual; hath not only the principal direction of the temporal powers, but often engageth them in his service, and enforceth his canons and decrees with the sword of the civil magistrate. As the first beast concurs to maintain his authority, so he in return confirms and maintains the sovranty and dominion of the first beast over his subjects; *and causeth the earth, and them who dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed.* He supports tyranny, as he is by tyranny supported. He inslaves the consciences, as the first beast subjugates the bodies of men. As Mr. Whiston well (7) observes, "He is the common "center and cement which unites all the distinct king-"doms of the Roman empire; and by joining with them "procures them a blind obedience from their subjects: "and so he is the occasion of the preservation of the old "Roman empire in some kind of unity, and name, and "strength; which otherwise had been quite dissolved by "the inundations and wars succeeding the settlement of "the barbarous nations in that empire."

Such is the power and authority of the beast, and now we shall see what courses he pursues to confirm and establish it. He pretends, like other false prophets, (ver. 13.) to show *great signs and wonders* and even to call for *fire from heaven*, as Elias did. His impostures too are so successful, that (ver. 14.) *he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do.* In this respect he perfectly resembles St. Paul's *man of sin*, (2 Thess. ii. 9,) *whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness:* or rather they are one and the same character represented in different lights, and under different names. It is farther observable, that he is said to perform his miracles *in the sight of men* in order to deceive them, and *in the sight of the beast* in order to serve him; but not *in the sight of God* to serve his cause, or promote his religion. Now miracles, visions, and revelations, are

(7) Whiston's Essay on the Rev. Part 3. Vision 5.

the mighty boast of the church of Rome; the contrivances of an artful cunning clergy to impose upon an ignorant credulous laity. Even *fire* is pretended to *come down from heaven*, as in the case of St. Anthony's fire, and other instances cited by (8) Brightman and other writers on the Revelation; and in solemn excommunications, which are called the *thunders* of the church, and are performed with the ceremony of casting down burning torches from on high, as symbols and emblems of *fire from heaven*. Miracles are thought so necessary and essential, that they are reckoned among the notes of the catholic church; and they are alleged principally in support of purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worship of saints, images, and relics, and the like (as they are called) catholic doctrines. But if these miracles were all real, we learn from hence what opinion we ought to frame of them; and what then shall we say, if they are all fictions and counterfeits? They are indeed so far from being any proofs of the true church, that they are rather a proof of a false one; they are, as we see, the distinguishing mark of Antichrist.

The influence of the two-horned beast or corrupted clergy is farther seen in persuading and inducing mankind (ver. 14.) to *make an image to the beast, which had the wound by a sword and did live*; that is an image and representative of the Roman empire, which was wounded by the sword of the barbarous nations, and revived in the revival of a new emperor of the west. *He had* also *power* (ver. 15.) *to give life* and activity *unto the image of the beast*. It should not be a dumb and lifeless idol, but should *speak* and deliver oracles, as the statues of the heathen gods were feigned to do, and should *cause to be killed as many as would not worship* and obey it. Some by this *image of the beast* (9) understand "the rise of the "new empire of Charlemain, which was an image "of the old Roman empire, and is now become the em"pire of Germany:" but this is *the beast* himself, *who*

(8) Vide Brightman. et Poli Synops. in locum.

(9) Limborch. Theol. Christ. Lib. 7. Cap. 11. Sect. 16. Lord Napier in locum. Whiston's Essay on the Rev. Part 3. Vision 6.

had the wound by a sword and did live, and not *the image of the beast;* the rise of this new empire was the healing of his deadly wound, by which he lived again. Others more probably (1) conceive, that this *image of the beast* is "the office of inquisition, which was intro- "duced among the blind vulgar, as a popular scheme, "and warmly recommended by the Dominican and "Franciscan monks, at first without any *voice* of com- "mand, or *power* of execution; till courts were erected "independent of bishops; and judges, officers, fami- "liars, prisons, and tormentors were appointed, who "should put to exquisite punishments, and deliver over "to a cruel death all that would not submit with an "implicit obedience:" but the office of inquisition is established only in some particular popish countries, and this belongs and extends to all in general. *As many as would not worship the image of the beast, the image of the beast should cause to be killed:* but there are many papists who do not receive and own the authority of the inquisition, and yet the inquisition doth not attempt to destroy and extirpate all such papists. What appears most probable is, that this *image* and representative *of the beast* is the Pope. He is properly *the idol* of the church. He represents in himself the whole power of the beast, and is the head of all authority temporal as well as spiritual. He is nothing more than a private person without power and without authority, till the two-horned beast or the corrupted clergy by choosing him pope *give life* unto him, and enable him to *speak* and utter his decrees, and to *persecute even to death as many as refuse* to submit to him and *to worship him.* As soon as he is chosen pope, he is cloathed with the pontifical robes, and crowned and placed upon the altar, and the cardinals come and kiss his feet, which ceremony is called *adoration.* They first elect, and then they worship him, as in the (2) medals of Martin V, where two are represented crowning the pope, and two kneeling before him,

(1) Vitring. in locum. Mann's Critical Notes on some Passages of Scripture, p. 121.

(2) Bonanni Numismat. Pontific. Romanor. Daubuz. p. 582.

with this inscription, *Quem creant adorant, Whom they create they adore.* He is the principle of unity to the ten kingdoms of the beast, and causeth, as far as he is able, all who will not acknowlege his supremacy, to be put to death. In short, he is the most perfect likeness and resemblance of the ancient Roman emperors, is as great a tyrant in the Christian world as they were in the Heathen world, presides in the same city, usurps the same powers, affects the same titles, and requires the same universal homage and adoration. So that the prophecy descends more and more into particulars, from the Roman state or ten kingdoms in general, to the Roman church or clergy in particular, and still more particularly to the person of the pope, the head of the state as well as of the church, the king of kings as well as bishop of bishops.

Other offices the false prophet performs to the beast, in subjecting all sorts of people to his obedience, by imposing certain terms of communion, and excommunicating all who dare in the least article to dissent from them, (ver. 16, 17.) *He causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond,* of whatsoever rank and condition they be, *to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads:* and he will not permit any man to *buy or sell,* or partake of the common intercourses of life, who hath not *the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.* We must understand, that it was (3) customary among the ancients, for servants to receive the mark of their master, and soldiers of their general, and those who were devoted to any particular deity, of the particular deity to whom they were devoted. These marks were usually impressed on *their right hand or on their foreheads;* and consisted of some hieroglyphic characters, or of the name expressed in vulgar letters, or of the name disguised in numerical letters according to the fancy of the imposer. It is in allusion to this ancient practice and custom, that the symbol and profession

(3) Vide Grot. in locum. Cleric. in Levit. xix. 28. et supra omnes Spencerum de Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus. Lib. 2. Cap. 20. Sect. 1, 3, 4.

of faith in the church of Rome, as subserving to superstition, idolatry and tyranny, is called *the mark* or *character of the beast;* which character is said to be received *in their forehead,* when they make open and public declaration of their faith, and *in their right hand,* when they live and act in conformity to it. If any dissent from the stated and authorized forms, they are condemned and excommunicated as heretics; and in consequence of that they are are no longer suffered *to buy or sell;* they are interdicted from traffic and commerce, and all the benefits of civil society. So Roger Hoveden (4) relates of William the conqueror, that he was so dutiful to the pope, that 'he would not permit any one in his 'power *to buy or sell* any thing, whom he found disobe-'dient to the apostolic see.' So the canon of the council of Lateran under Pope Alexander the third, made against the Waldenses and Albigenses, (5) injoins upon pain of anathema, that 'no man presume to entertain or 'cherish them in his house or land, or *exercise traffic* 'with them.' The synod of Tours in France under the same pope (6) orders under the like intermination, that 'no man should presume to receive or assist them, 'no not so much as to hold any communion with them in 'selling or buying, that being deprived of the comfort of 'humanity, they may be compelled to repent of the 'error of their way.' Pope Martin V. in his bull set out after the council of Constance (7) commands in

(4) Ut neminem in sua potestate aliquid *emere aut vendere* permiserit, quem apostolicæ sedi deprehenderit inobedientem. [Translated in the text.] Ex Usserio de success. Eccles. Cap. 7. Sect. 7. apud Vitring. p. 624. et apud Daubuz. p. 599.

(5) Ne quis eos in domo vel in terra sua teneře, vel fovere, vel *negotiationem* cum iis *exercere* præsumat. [Translated in the text.] Ex Tom. 4. Concil. Edit. Rom. A. 1612. p. 37. apud Medum. p. 509. apud Vitrin. p. 624. et apud Daubuz. p. 598.

(6) Ne ubi cogniti fuerint illius hæreseos sectatores, receptaculum iis quisquam in terra sua præbere, aut præsidium impertiri præsumat; sed nec in *venditione aut emptione* aliqua cum iis communio habeatur, ut solatio saltem humanitatis amisso, ab errore viæ suæ resipiscere cogantur. [Translated in the text.] Ex Usserio de success. Eccles. Cap. 8. Sect. 26. apud Medum et Vitring. et Daubuz. ibid.

(7) Ne hereticos in suis districtibus domicilia tenere, contractus inire, negotiationes exercere, aut humanitatis solatia cum Christianis habere permittant. [Translated in the text.] Ex Pareo apud Daubuz. p. 598.

like manner, that 'they permit not the heretics to have 'houses in their districts, or enter into contracts, or 'carry on commerce, or enjoy the comforts of huma-'nity with Christians.' In this respect, as Mede (8) observes, the false prophet *spake as the dragon.* For the dragon Diocletian published a like edict, that no one should sell or administer any thing to the Christians, unless they had first burnt incense to the gods, as Bede also rehearseth in the hymn of Justin Martyr; 'They had 'not the power of buying or selling any thing, nor were 'they allowed the liberty of drawing water itself, before 'they had offered incense to detestable idols.' Popish excommunications are therefore like heathen persecutions: and how large a share the corrupted clergy, and especially the monks of former, and the Jesuits of later times, have had in framing and enforcing such cruel interdicts, and in reducing all orders and degrees to so servile a state of subjection, no man of the least reading can want to be informed.

Mention having been made of *the number of the beast,* or *the number of his name,* (for they are both the same) the prophet proceeds to inform us what that number is, leaving us from the number to collect the name, (ver. 18.) *Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast.* It is not therefore a vain and ridiculous attempt to search into this mystery, but on the contrary is recommended to us upon the authority of an apostle. *For it is the number of a man;* it is a method of numbering practised among men; as *the measure of a man* (xxi. 17.) is such a measure as men commonly make use of in measuring. It was a method

(8) Et quid? nonne hic quoque loquitur pseudopropheta *ut draco?* Draco enim Diocletianus simile edictum edidit, ne quis quidquam Christianis venderet aut subministraret, nisi prius thura diis adolevissent: de quo in hymno Justini Martyris ita canit Beda;

Non illis emendi quidquam
Aut vendendi copia:
Nec ipsam haurire aquam
Dabatur licentia,
Antequam thurificarent
Detestandis idolis.

[Translated in the text.] Mede, p. 509.

practised among the ancients, to denote names by numbers: as the (9) name of *Thouth* or the Egyptian Mercury was signified by the number 1218; the name of Jupiter, as H Αρχη or the beginning of things, by the number 717; and the name of the sun, as ηυς good, or υης the author of rain, by the number 608. St. Barnabas the companion of St. Paul, in his (1) epistle discovers in like manner the name of Jesus crucified in the number 318: and other instances might be produced, if there was occasion. It hath been the usual method in all God's dispensations, for the holy Spirit to accommodate his expressions to the customs, fashions, and manners of the several ages. Since then this art and mystery of numbers was so much used among the ancients, it is less wonderful that the beast also should have his number, *and his number is six hundred and sixty-six.* Here only the number is specified; and from the number we must, as well as we can, collect the name. Several names possibly might be cited, which contain this number: but it is evident, that it must be some Greek or Hebrew name; and with the name also the other qualities and properties of the beast must all agree. The name alone will not constitute an agreement; all other particulars must be perfectly applicable, and the name also must comprehend the precise number of 666. No name appears more proper and suitable than that famous one mentioned by Ire-

(9) Vide Martiani Capellæ de Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii. Lib. 2 et 7 in init. Daubuz, p. 605. Selden's Works, Vol. 3. Part 2. Col. 1402. Of the number 666.

Θ — 9	H — 8	η — 8
ω — 800	A — 1	υ — 400
υ — 400	ρ — 100	ς — 200
θ — 9	χ — 600	608
1218	η — 8	
	717	

(1) Vide S. Barnabæ Epist. Cap. 9. Edit. Cotelerii et Clerici. The name of Jesus was wrote thus abreviated IHT, IH the two first letters of the name, and T as the mark of his cross.

I	10
H	8
T	300
	318

næus, who lived not long after St. John's time, and was the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of John. He (2) saith, that 'the name *Lateinos* contains the number of '666; and it is very likely, because the last kingdom 'is so called, for they are Latins who now reign; but in 'this he will not glory:' that is, as it becomes a modest and pious man in a point of such difficulty, he will not be too confident of his explication. Lateinos with ei is the true orthography, as the Greeks wrote the long i of the Latins, and as the Latins themselves (3) wrote in former times. No objection therefore can be drawn from the spelling of the name, and the thing agrees to admiration. For after the division of the empire, the Greeks and other orientalists called the people of the western church or church of Rome *Latins:* and as Dr. Henry Moore (4) expresseth it, they *latinize* in every thing. Mass, prayers, hymns, litanies, canons, decretals, bulls, are conceived in Latin. The papal councils speak in Latin. Women themselves pray in Latin. Nor is the scripture read in any other language under popery, than Latin. Wherefore the council of Trent commanded the vulgar Latin to be the only authentic version. Nor do their doctors doubt to prefer it to the Hebrew and Greek text itself, which was written by the prophets and apostles. In short all things are Latin; the pope having communicated his language to the people under his dominion, as the mark and character of his empire. They them-

(2) Sed et LATEINOS nomen habet sexcentorum sexaginta sex numerum: et valde verisimile est, quoniam novissimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum. Latini enim sunt qui nunc regnant; sed non in hoc nos gloriabimur. [Translated in the text.] Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 30. p. 449. Edit Grabe.

(3) So Ennius Lib. vi. 26.

Quorum virtutei bellei fortuna pepercit,
Horundem me libertatei parcere certum est:

and there are infinite examples besides.

(4) Moore's Mystery of Iniquity. Part 2. B. 1. Chap. 15. Sect. 1. et Petri Molinæi Vatcs. p. 500. &c. Missa, preces, hymni, litaniæ, canones, decreta, bullæ, Latine conceptæ sunt. Concilia papalia Latine loquuntur. Ipsæ Mulierculæ precantur Latine. Nec alio sermone scriptura legitur sub papismo quam Latino. Quapropter Concilium Tridentinum jussit solam versionem vulgatam Latinam esse authenticam. Nec dubitant doctores eam præferre ipsi textui Hebraico et Græco ab ipsis apostolis et prophetis exarato. Denique sunt omnia Latina; nempe Papa populis a se subactis dedit suam linguam, ut sui imperii notam et characterem. [Translated in the text.]

selves indeed choose rather to be called *Romans*, and more absurdly still *Roman Catholics*: and probably the apostle, as he hath made use of some Hebrew names in this book, as *Abaddon* (ix. 11.) and *Armageddon* (xvi. 16.) so might in this place likewise allude to the name in the Hebrew language. Now *Romiith* is the (5) Hebrew name for the *Roman beast* or *Roman kingdom:* and this word, as well as the former word *Lateinos*, contains the just and exact number of 666. It is really surprising that there should be such a fatal coincidence in both names in both languages, Mr. Pyle (6) asserts, and I believe he may assert very truly, that "no other word, "in any language whatever, can be found to express "both the same *number*, and the same *thing*."

CHAP. XIV.

1 AND I looked, and lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hunded forty *and* four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads.

2 And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps:

3 And they sung as it were a new song before the throne and before the four beasts, and the elders; and no man could learn that song, but the hundred

(5) רומי *Romi* masc. רומיית *Romiith* fem. to agree with חיה *beast* or מלכות *kingdom*.

A	30	ר	200
A	1	ו	6
T	300	מ	40
E	5	י	10
I	10	י	10
N	50	ת	400
O	70		
Σ	200		666
	666		

(6) See Pyle's Paraphrase, p. 104.

and forty *and* four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth.

4 These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins: these are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth: these were redeemed from among men, *being* the first-fruits unto God, and to the Lamb.

5 And in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the throne of God.

After this melancholy account of the rise and reign of the beast, the Spirit of prophecy delineates, by way of opposition, the state of the true church during the same period, its struggles and contests with the beast, and the judgments of God upon its enemies. Our Saviour is seen (ver. 1.) as the true *Lamb* of God, not only with horns like a lamb, *standing on the mount Sion*, the place of God's true worship; *and with him an hundred forty and four thousand*, the same select number that was mentioned before, (vii. 4) the genuin ofspring of the twelve apostles apostolically multiplied, and therefore the number of the church, as 666 is the number of the beast; and as the followers of the beast have the name of the beast, so these have *the name of God*, and as some copies add *of Christ, written in their foreheads*, being his professed servants, and the same as *the witnesses*, only represented under different figures. The angels and heavenly quire (ver. 2, 3.) with loud voices and instruments of music sing the same *new song* or Christian song that they sung before: (Chap. v.) *and no man could learn that song, but the hundred and forty and four thousand;* they alone are the worshippers of the one true God through the one true mediator Jesus Christ; all the rest of mankind offer up their devotions to other objects, and through other mediators. *These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins;* (ver. 4.) they are pure from all the stains and pollutions of spiritual whoredom or idolatry, with which the other parts of the world are miserably debauched and corrupted. *These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he*

goeth; they adhere constantly to the religion of Christ in all conditions and in all places, whether in adversity or prosperity, whether in conventicles and deserts, or in churches or cities. *These were redeemed from among men,* rescued from the corruptions of the world, and are consecrated as *the first fruits unto God and the Lamb,* an earnest and assurance of a more plentiful harvest in succeeding times. *And in their mouth was found no guile;* (ver. 5.) they *handle not the word of God deceitfully,* they preach the sincere doctrin of Christ, they are as free from hypocrisy as from idolatry; *for they are without fault before the throne of God,* they resemble their blessed Redeemer, *who* (1 Pet. ii. 22.) *did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth;* and are, as the apostle requires Christians to be, (Philip. ii. 15.) *blameless and harmless, the the sons of God without rebuke in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation.* But possibly it may be asked, Where did such a church ever exist, especially before the Reformation: and it may be replied that it hath not existed only in idea; history demonstrates as it hath been before evinced, that there have in every age been some true worshippers of God, and faithful servants of Jesus Christ; and as Elijah did not know the seven thousand men who had never bowed the knee to Baal, so there may have been more true Christians than were always visible.

6 And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people,

7 Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.

Such is the nature and character of the true Christian church in opposition to the wicked Antichristian kingdom; and three principal efforts have been made towards a reformation at three different times, represented by three angels appearing one after another. *Another angel,*

(ver. 9.) besides those who were employed in singing, (ver. 3.) is seen *flying in the midst of heaven*, and *having the everlasting gospel to preach unto every nation and people*; so that during this period the gospel should still be preached, which is stiled *the everlasting gospel*; being like its divine author (Heb. xiii. 8.) *the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever*, in opposition to the novel doctrins of the beast and the false prophet, which (Matt. xv. 13.) *should be rooted up as plants not of the heavenly Father's planting*. This angel is farther represented (ver. 7.) *saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come*. Prophecy mentions things as *come*, which will certainly come: and so our Saviour said (John xii. 31.) *Now is the judgment of this world*; it is denounced with certainty now, and in due time will be fully executed. But what this angel more particularly recommends, is the worship of the great creator of the universe; *Worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters*. It is a solemn and emphatic exhortation to forsake the reigning idolatry and superstition, and such exhortations were made even in the first and earliest times of the beast. Besides several of the Greek emperors who strenuously opposed the worship of images, Charlemain himself (7) held a council at Francfort in the year 794, consisting of about 300 French, and German, and Italian, and Spanish, and British bishops, who condemned all sort of adoration or worship of images, and rejected the second council of Nice, which had authorized and established it. At the same time *the Carolin books*, as they are called, four books written by Charles himself or by his authority, proving the worship of images to be contrary to the scripture and to the doctrin and practice of antiquity, were approved by the council, and transmitted to the pope. Lewis the pious, the son and successor of Charles, (8) held a council at Paris in the year 824, which rati-

(7) Fred. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. 8. Cap. 7 et 9. Dupin. Bib. Ecclesiast. Tom. 6. passim. Voltaire's Annals of the Empire. Ann. 794.

(8) Spanhem. ibid. Sæc. 9. Cap. 12. Sect. 2. et Hist. Imag. Rest. Sect. 9. Dupin. ibid. Tom. 7. Chap. 1.

fied the acts of the council of Francfort and the Carolin books, and affirmed that, according to the scripture and the fathers, adoration was due to God alone. Several private persons also taught and asserted the same scriptural doctrins. Claud, bishop of Turin, (9) declares that 'we are not commanded to go to the creature, that 'we may be made happy, but to the Creator himself: 'and therefore we should not worship dead men; they 'are to be imitated, not to be adored: let us together 'with the angels worship one God.' Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, (1) wrote a whole book against images, and says that 'angels or saints may be loved and ho-'nored, but not be served and worshipped: let us not 'put our trust in man, but in God, lest that prophetic 'denunciation should redound on us, *Cursed is the man,* '*who trusteth in man.*' Many other (2) bishops and writers of Britain, Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, professed the same sentiments; and this public opposition of emperors and bishops to the worship of saints and images in the eighth and ninth centuries appears to be meant particularly by the *loud voice* of this first *angel flying aloft,* and calling upon the world *to worship God.* In another respect too these emperors and bishops resemble this *angel having the everlasting gospel to preach unto every nation;* for in their time, and greatly by their means, (3) the Christian religion was propagated and established among the Saxons, Danes, Swedes, and many other northern nations.

(9) Non jubemur ad creaturam tendere ut efficiamur beati, sed ad ipsum creatorem. Et ideo non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum; honorandi sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem: Unum cum angelis colamus Deum. [Translated in the text.] Apud Spanhem. ibid, Sæc. 9. Cap. 9. Sect. 7. Vide etiam Dupin. ibid. et Cave Hist. Litt. ad Ann. 820.

(1) Angeli, vel homines sancti, amentur, honorentur charitate, non servitute, non ponamus spem nostram in homine, sed in Deo, ne forte redundet in nos illum propheticum, Maledictus homo qui confidit in homine. [Translated in the text.] Lib. de Imag. Cap. 30. apud Spanhem. ibid. Vide etiam Dupin. ibid. Cave. ibid. ad Ann. 813.

(2) Spanhem. ibid. Sect. 3. Usserius de Eccles. Christian. successione et statu. Cap. 2. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient Churches of the Albigenses. Cap. 8 et 9.

(3) Spanhem. ibid. Cap. 2.

8 And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.

As the admonitions of the first angel had not the proper effect upon the kingdom of the beast, the second angel is commissioned to proclaim the fall of the capital city, (ver. 8.) *And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city.* By *Babylon* was meant *Rome*, as all authors of all ages and countries agree: but it was not prudent to denounce the destruction of Rome in open and direct terms: it was for many wise reasons done covertly under the name of Babylon, which was the great idolatress of the earth, and enemy of the people of God in former, as Rome hath been in later times. By the same figure of speech, that the first angel cried that *the hour of his judgment is come*, this second angel proclaims that *Babylon is fallen;* the sentence is as certain, as if it was already executed. For greater certainty too it is repeated twice *Babylon is fallen, is fallen;* as Joseph said (Gen. xli. 32.) *that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice, because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass.* The reason then is added of this sentence against Babylon, *because she made all nations drink of the wine of her wrath*, or rather *of the inflaming wine of her fornication.* Hers was a kind of a Circéan cup with poisoned liquor to intoxicate and inflame mankind to spiritual fornication. St. John in these figures copies the ancient prophets. In the same manner, and in the same words, did Isaiah foretel the fate of ancient Babylon, (xxi. 9.) *Babylon is fallen, is fallen:* and Jeremiah hath assigned much the same reason for her destruction, (li. 7.) *Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine: therefore the nations are mad.* As by the first angel calling upon men to worship God, we understand the opposers of the worship of images in the eighth and ninth centuries, so by this second angel proclaiming the fall of mystic Babylon or Rome, we

understand particularly (4) Peter Valdo and those who concurred with him the Waldenses and Albigenses; who were the first heralds, as I may say, of this proclamation, as they first of all in the twelfth century pronounced the church of Rome to be the apocalytic *Babylon, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth;* and for this cause not only departed from her communion themselves, but engaged great numbers also to follow their example, and laid the first foundation of the Reformation. Rome then began to fall; and as the ruin of Babylon was completed by degrees, so likewise will that of Rome; and these holy confessors and martyrs first paved the way to it.

9 And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive *his* mark in his forehead, or in his hand,

10 The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb:

11 And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.

12 Here is the patience of the saints: here *are* they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.

13 And I heard a voice from heaven, saying

(4) Mede, p. 517, 722, &c. Fred. Spanhem. Hist. Christian. Sæc. 12. Cap. 6.—recessisse a doctrina et praxi recepta Romanæ ecclesiæ, nuncupasse eam *Babylonem*, ac confusionis omnis matrem, &c. ['That they had withdrawn from the established doctrine and practice of the Roman church, and had given to her the name of *Babylon*, and the mother of all confusion,' &c.] Sect. 4. Thuani Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 16. Eorum hæc dogmata ferebantur; Ecclesiam Romanam, quoniam veræ Christi fidei renunciaverit, *Babylonicam meretricem esse*, &c. ['These were reported to be their opinions, that the Roman church, because she had renounced the true faith of Christ *was the whore of Babylon*, &c.'] p. 221. Edit. Buckley.

unto me, Write, Blessed *are* the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth, Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.

But not only the capital city, not only the principal agents and promoters of idolatry shall be destroyed; the commission of the third angel reached farther, and extends to all the subjects of the beast, whom he consigns over to everlasting punishment, (ver. 9, 10, 11.) *And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand,* if any man embrace and profess the religion of the beast, or what is the same the religion of the pope; *the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God,* or rather *of the poisonous wine of God.* His punishment shall correspond with his crime. As he drank of the *poisonous wine* of Babylon, so he shall be made to drink of *the poisonous wine* of God, τω κεκερασμενω ακρατω, *which is poured out without mixture,* or rather, *which is mixt unmixt,* the poisonous ingredients being stronger when mixt with mere or unmixt wine, *in the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.* By this *third angel following the others with a loud voice* we understand principally Martin Luther and his fellow-reformers, who *with a loud voice* protested against all the corruptions of the church of Rome, and declared them to be destructive of salvation to all who still obstinately continue in the practice and profession of them. This would be a time of great trial, (ver. 12.) *Here is the patience of the saints; here are they who keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus.* And it is very well known, that this was a time of trial and great persecution; the Reformation was not introduced and established without much bloodshed; there were many martyrs in every country. But they are comforted with a solemn declaration from heaven, (ver. 13.) *And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, from henceforth,* if they die in the faith and obe-

dience of Christ, and more especially if they die martyrs for his sake: *Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors*, for immediately upon their deaths they enter into rest; *and their works do follow them*, they enjoy now some recompence, and in due time, at the day of judgment, they shall receive the full reward of their good works. It is most probable that St. John alluded to a passage in Isaiah, where the Spirit hath made the like declaration; (lvii. 1, 2) *The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come: he shall enter into peace: they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his uprightness.* But the greatest difficulty of all is to account for the words *from henceforth;* for why should *the blessedness of the dead who died in the Lord* be restrained to this time, and commence from this period rather than from any other, when they are at all times and in all periods equally blessed, and not more since this time than before? Commentators are here very much at a loss, and offer little or nothing that is satisfactory: but the difficulty in great measure ceases, if we apply this prophecy, as I think it should be applied, to the Reformation. For from that time, tho' *the blessedness of the dead who die in the Lord* hath not been enlarged, yet it hath been much better understood, more clearly *written* and promulgated than it was before, and the contrary doctrin of purgatory hath been exploded and banished from the belief of all reasonable men. This truth was moreover one of the leading principles of the Reformation. What first provoked Luther's spirit was the scandalous sale of indulgences; and the doctrin of indulgences having a close connection with the doctrin of purgatory, the refutation of the one naturally led him to the refutation of the other; and his (5) first work of reformation was his 95 theses or positions against indulgences, purgatory, and the dependent doctrins. So that he may be said litterally to have ful-

(5) Sleidan's Hist. of the Reform. B. 1, Ann. 1517. Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent. B. 1. Sect. 18. Spanhem. Hist. Christian. Sæc. 16. Cap. 6. Sect. 1.

filled the command from heaven, of *writing, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth:* and from that time to this, this truth has been so clearly asserted, and so solidly established, that it is likely to prevail for ever.

A learned and ingenious friend refers these three proclamations of the three angels to later times, and supposes that they are an immediate prelude to the fall of Antichrist and the millennium. But the clue that has principally conducted me thro' both parts of the Revelation is following the series of history and the successive order of events. After the description of the two beasts, secular and ecclesiastical, whose power was established according to my hypothesis in the eighth century, but according to most commentators much sooner, there would be a very large chasm without the prediction of any memorable events, if these prophecies relate to the time immediately preceding the fall of Antichrist and the millennium. What a long interval would that be without any prophecy? and how thick would the events follow afterward? for all the particulars not only of this 14th, but likewise of the 16th, 18th, and 19th chapters, must be fulfilled before the commencement of the millennium I can hardly frame, even in imagination, any events which can answer more exactly to these proclamations of the three angels than the three principal efforts towards a reformation. Charlemain, Valdo, Luther, and their followers, certainly deserve as exalted characters as are here given them: and it would be very strange that there should be so many prophecies relating to the downfall of popery, and none concerning the Reformation. He conceives that the church cannot be represented in such an attitude of triumph and jubilation, as it is in the former part of this chapter, while it is afflicted and persecuted during the reign of the beast. But the church of this period is not drawn in such an attitude of triumph and jubilation as he imagins; there are some intimations of its suffering persecution in this very chapter: and if it was as he imagins, yet why may not the true church be represented like the Apostles and

primitive Christians as *sorrowful yet always rejoicing*, as *rejoicing in tribulation*, as *exceedingly joyful in tribulation*, &c.? He farther conceives, that the dead are *blessed from henceforth*, because they will remain a shorter time in the separate state, and be sooner raised again. But why then is not that reason assigned but quite different ones, *that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them?* These are the reasons which hold equally good at all times, and cannot be restrained and limited to any particular time: and therefore I conceive that the words *from henceforth* relate not so much to *the blessedness of the dead*, which is always the same, as to the *writing* and promulgating of this doctrin by Luther and the protestant reformers.

14 And I looked, and behold, a white cloud, and upon the cloud *one* sat, like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle.

15 And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harvest of the earth is ripe.

16 And he that sat on the cloud, thrust in his sickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped.

17 And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle.

18 And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe.

19 And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast *it* into the great wine-press of the wrath of God.

20 And the wine-press was troden without the city, and blood came out of the wine-press, even unto the horse-bridles, by the space of a thousand *and* six hundred furlongs.

But still the voices of these three warning angels not having their due influence and effect, the judgments of God will overtake the followers and adherents of the beast, which judgments are represented under the figures of *harvest* and *vintage*, (ver. 15—20.) figures not unusual in the prophets, and copied particularly from the prophet Joel, who denounced God's judgments against the enemies of his people in the like terms; (iii. 13.) *Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe; come, get you down, for the press is full, the fats overflow, for their wickedness is great.* What particular events are signified by this *harvest* and *vintage*, it appears impossible for any man to determin, time alone can with certainty discover, for these things are yet in futurity. Only it may be observed, that these two signal judgments will as certainly come, as harvest and vintage succeed in their season; and in the course of providence the one will precede the other, as in the course of nature the harvest is before the vintage; and the latter will greatly surpass the former, and be attended with a more terrible destruction of God's enemies. It is said (ver. 20.) that *the blood came even unto the horse-bridles*, which is a strong hyperbolical way of speaking to express vast slaughter and effusion of blood; a way of speaking not unknown to the Jews, for (6) the Jerusalem Talmud describing the woful slaughter, which the Roman emperor Adrian made of the Jews at the destruction of the city of Bitter, saith that *the horses waded in blood up to the nostrils.* Nor are similar examples wanting even in the classic authors: for (7) Silius Italicus, speaking of Annibal's descent into Italy, useth a like expression of *the bridles flowing with much blood.* The stage where this bloody tragedy is acted, is *without the city, by the space of a thousand and six hun-*

(6) In Taanith, Fol. 69. Col. 1. Lightfoot's Harmony of the N. T. in locum. Vide etiam Echa R. ii. 2. Tribus annis cum dimidio obsedit Adrianus Bitterem, nec cessarunt in ea interficientes, donec mergeretur equus in sanguine usque ad os, &c. ['Adrian besieged the city of Bitter during three years and a half. The slaughter did not cease in it till a horse might have waded in blood up to the nostrils,' &c.] apud Westein in locum.

(7) Sil. Ital. iii. 705.

—multoque fluentia sanguine lora. [Translated in the text.]

dred furlongs, which, as Mr. Mede (8) ingeniously observes, is the measure of stato della chiesa, or the state of the Roman church, or St. Peter's patrimony, which reaching from the walls of Rome unto the river Po and the marshes of Verona, contains the space of 200 Italian miles, which make exactly 1600 furlongs.

CHAP. XV.

1 AND I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God.

2 And I saw as it were a sea of glass, mingled with fire; and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his marks, *and* over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God.

3 And they sing the songs of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true *are* thy ways, thou king of saints.

4 Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for *thou* only *art* holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments are made manifest.

5 And after that I looked, and behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened:

6 And the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, cloathed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles.

(8) In vicino item locus est cui dictus stadiorum numerus perinde convenit: puta *stato della chiesa*, seu ecclesiæ Romanæ latifundium, quod ab urbe Roma usque ad ultimum Padi ostium et Paludes Veronnonses porrigitur spatio milliarium Italicorum ducentorum, id est stadiorum 1600. ['There is at hand a place, whose measurement exactly agrees with the number of furlongs here mentioned, and that is *stato della chiesa*, or the state of the Roman church, which stretching from the city of Rome, to the farthest mouth of the Po and the marshes of Verona, extends for the space of two hundred Italian miles, or sixteen hundred furlongs.'] Mede, p. 522.

7 And one of the four beasts gave unto the seven angels, seven golden vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever.

8 And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power, and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled.

God's judgments upon the kingdom of the beast, or Antichristian empire, are hitherto denounced, and described in general terms under the figures of *harvest* and *vintage*. A more particular account of them follows under the emblem of *seven vials* which are called (ver. 1.) *the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God.* These seven last plagues must necessarily fall under the seventh and last trumpet, or the third and last woe-trumpet; so that as the seventh seal contained the seven trumpets, the seventh trumpet comprehends the seven vials. Not only the concinnity of the prophecy requires this order; for otherwise there would be great confusion, and the vials would interfere with the trumpets, some falling under one trumpet, and some under another: but moreover, if these seven last plagues and the consequent destruction of Babylon be not the subject of the third woe, the third woe is no where described particularly as are the two former woes. When four of the seven trumpets had sounded, it was declared (viii. 13.) *Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to sound.* Accordingly at the sounding of the *fifth* trumpet (ix. 1.) commences the woe of the Saracen or Arabian locusts; and in the conclusion is added (ver. 12.) *One woe is past, and behold, there come two woes more hereafter.* At the sounding of the *sixth* trumpet (ix. 13.) begins the plague of the Euphratean horsemen or Turks; and in the conclusion is added (xi. 14.) *The second woe is past, and behold, the third woe cometh quickly.* At the sounding of the *seventh* trumpet therefore (xi. 15, &c.) one would naturally expect the description of the *third woe* to succeed: but

as it was before observed, there follows only a short and summary account of the seventh trumpet, and of the joyful rather than of the woeful part of it. A general intimation indeed is given of God's *taking unto him his great power,* and *destroying them who destroy the earth;* but the particulars are reserved for this place; and if these last plagues coincide not with the last woe, there are other plagues and other woes after the last; and how can it be said that *the wrath of God is filled up in them,* if there are are others besides them? If then these seven last plagues synchronize with the seventh and last trumpet, they are all yet to come; for the sixth trumpet is not yet past, nor the woe of the Turkish or Othman empire yet ended: and consequently there is no possibility of explaining them in such a manner as when the prophecies may be parallel with histories, or evinced by ocular demonstration. The many fruitless attempts which have hitherto been made to explain them, are a farther proof that they cannot well be explained, the best interpreters having failed and floundered in this part more than any other. But before the vials are poured out, the scene opens with a preparatory vision, which is the subject of this chapter.

As seven angels sounded the seven trumpets, so seven angels are appointed to pour out the seven vials, angels being always the ministers of providence; and in order to show that these judgments are to fall upon the kingdom of the beast, the true worshippers of God and faithful servants of Jesus, who had escaped *victors from the beast,* νικωντες εκ του θηριου, and had never submitted to his tyranny or religion, are described (ver. 2, 3, 4.) like unto the children of Israel after their deliverance and escape out of Egypt. For as the children of Israel, (Exod. xv.) having passed through the red sea, stood on the shore, and seeing their enemies overwhelmed with the waters, sung the triumphant song of Moses: so these having passed through the fiery trials of this world, *stand on the sea of glass mingled with fire,* which was mentioned before, (iv. 6.) and seeing the vials ready to be poured out upon their enemies, sing a song of tri-

umph for the manifestation of the divine judgments; which is called *the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb,* the words in great measure being taken from the song of Moses and other parts of the Old Testament, and applied in a christian sense. After this *the most holy place of the temple is opened,* (ver. 5.) and *the seven angels come out of the temple,* (ver. 6.) to denote that their commission is immediately from God, *cloathed* like the high priest but in a more august manner, *in pure and white linen,* to signify the righteousness of these judgments, *and having their breasts girded,* to show their readiness to execute the divine commands, *with golden girdles,* as emblems of their power and majesty. A vial then is given unto each of the seven angels (ver. 7.) by *one of the four living creatures,* the representatives of the church; by which it is intimated, that it is in vindication of the church and true religion that these plagues are inflicted. Moreover *the temple is filled with smoke from the glory of God and from his power,* so that *no man is able to enter into it;* (ver. 8.) in the same manner as the tabernacle, when it was consecrated by Moses, and the temple when it was dedicated by Solomon, (Exod. xl. 34, 35. 1 Kings viii. 10, 11.) were both filled with a cloud and the glory of the Lord, so that neither Moses nor the priests could enter therein: a farther proof of the majestic presence and extraordinary interposition of God in the execution of these judgments.

CHAP. XVI.

1 AND I heard a great voice out of the temple, saying to the seven angels, Go your ways and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth.

In obedience to the divine command (ver. 1.) the seven angels come forth *to pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth:* and as the *trumpets* were so many steps and degrees of the ruin of the Roman empire, so

the *vials* are of the ruin of the Roman church. The one in polity and government is the image of the other; the one is compared to the system of the world, and hath her *earth*, and *sea*, and *rivers*, and *sun*, as well as the other; and this is the reason of the similitude and resemblance of the judgments in both cases. Some resemblance too there is between these plagues, and those of Egypt. Rome papal hath already (xi. 8.) been distinguished by the title of *spiritual Egypt*, and resembles Egypt in her punishments as well as in her crimes, tyranny, idolatry, and wickedness.

2 And the first went, and poured out his vial upon the earth; and there fell a noisome and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the beast, and *upon* them which worshipped his image.

Vial the first (ver. 2.) is *poured out upon the earth;* and so the hail and fire of the first trumpet (viii. 7.) *were cast upon the earth.* It produceth *a noisome and grievous sore;* and in this respect resembleth the sixth plague of Egypt, (Exod. ix. 10.) which was *boils breaking forth with blains.* This plague is inflicted *upon the men who had the mark of the beast, and upon them who worshipped his image;* which is to be understood of the others also, where it is not expressed. Whether these *sores* and *ulcers* are natural or moral, the event must show.

3 And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea: and it became as the blood of a dead man: and every living soul died in the sea.

4 And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters; and they became blood.

5 And I heard the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus:

6 For they have shed the blood of saints and

prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy.

7 And I heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous *are* thy judgments.

Vial the second (ver. 3.) is *poured out upon the sea*, and the sea becomes *as the blood of a dead man*, or as congealed blood: and in like manner under the second trumpet (viii. 8.) the burning mountain *was cast into the sea, and the sea became blood.* Vial the third (ver. 4.) is *poured out upon the rivers and fountains of waters, and they became blood:* and in like manner under the third trumpet (viii. 10.) the burning star *fell upon the rivers and fountains of waters.* There is a close connexion between these two vials; and the effects are similar to the first plague of Egypt, (Exod. vii. 19.) when *the waters of Egypt*, and *their streams*, and *their rivers*, and *their ponds*, and *their pools of water became blood. Seas* and *rivers of blood* manifestly denote great slaughter and devastation: and hereupon (ver. 5, 6.) *the angel of the waters*, for it was a prevailing opinion in the east, that a (9) particular angel presided over the waters, as others did over other elements and parts of nature, and mention was made before (xiv. 18.) of *the angel who had power over fire;* this angel of the waters celebrates the righteous judgments of God in adapting and proportioning the punishments of the followers of the beast to their crime; for no law is more just and equitable, than that they who have been guilty of *shedding the blood of saints and prophets*, should be punished in the effusion of their own blood. *Another angel out of the altar* (ver. 7.) for (vi. 9.) *under the altar were the souls of them who were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held*, declares his assent in the most solemn manner, *Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments.*

(9) Imò Persæ existimant peculiari angelo demandatum esse tueri aquas, &c, ['The Persians think that a peculiar angel is commissioned to take care of the waters.'] Hyde de Relig. Vet. Persarum, Cap. 6. p. 139. Vide etiam Cap. 19.

8 And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun; and power was given unto him to scorch men with fire.

9 And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory.

As the fourth trumpet affected *the sun;* (viii. 12) so likewise the fourth vial (ver. 8, 9.) *is poured out upon the sun.* An intense heat ensues; *and men blaspheme the name of God, and repent not to give him glory* Whether by this intense heat of the sun, be meant litterally, uncommon sultry seasons, scorching and withering the fruits of the earth, and producing pestilential fevers and inflammations; or figuratively, a most tyrannical and exorbitant exercise of arbitrary power by those who may be called *the sun* in the firmament of the beast, the pope or emperor; time must discover. Men shall be tormented, and complain grievously; they shall be like the rebellious Jews (Is. viii. 21.) *fret themselves, and curse their king, and their God, and look upward,* look upward not to pray but only to blaspheme; they shall not have the sense or courage to repent, and forsake their idolatry and wickedness. When the events shall take place, and these things shall all be fulfilled, not only these prophecies of the vials shall be better understood, but also those of the trumpets, to which they bear some analogy and resemblance.

10 And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat of the beast; and his kingdom was full of darkness, and they gnawed their tongues for pain,

11 And blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds.

Vial the fifth (ver. 10, 11.) is *poured out upon the seat* or *throne of the beast, and his kingdom* becomes *full of darkness,* as Egypt did (Exod. x. 21.) under her plant.

plague. This is some great calamity which shall fall upon Rome itself, and shall *darken* and confound the whole Antichristian empire. But still the consequences of this plague are much the same as those of the foregoing one; for the sufferers, instead of *repenting of their deeds*, are hardened like Pharaoh, and still persist in their blasphemy and idolatry, and obstinately withstand all attempts at reformation.

12 And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared.

13 And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs *come* out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet.

14 For they are the spirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth, and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God almighty.

15 Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed *is* he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame.

16 And he gathered them together into a place called in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon.

Vial the sixth (ver. 12.) is *poured out upon the great river Euphrates, and the water thereof is dried up,* to prepare a passage *for the kings of the east.* Whether by *Euphrates* be meant the river so called, or only a mystic Euphrates, as Rome is mystic *Babylon;* and whether *by the kings of the east* be meant the Jews in particular, or any eastern potentates in general; can be matters only of conjecture, and not of certainty and assurance till the event shall make the determination. Whoever they be, they appear to threaten the ruin and destruction of the kingdom of the beast: and therefore (1) the

(1) The *three unclean spirits like frogs* Mr. Mann conceives to be the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits. Dominicani, Franciscani, et Loyalitæ *tres impuros spiritus ranis similes* non male referunt. M. S.

agents and emissaries of popery, (ver. 13, 14.) *of the dragon,* the representative of the devil, *and of the beast,* the representative of the antichristian empire, *and of the false prophet,* the representative of the antichristian church, as disagreeable, as loquacious, as sordid, as impudent (2) as *frogs,* are employed to oppose them, and stir up the princes and potentates of their communion to make their united and last effort in a religious war. Of necessity these must be times of great trouble and affliction; so that an exhortation is inserted (ver. 15.) by way of parenthesis, of the *suddenness* of these judgments, and of the *blessedness* of *watching,* and of being *cloathed* and prepared for all events. Beza conceives that this verse was transferred hither from the 3d chapter, where it should be subjoined to the 18th verse: but the 3d chapter and the 16th chapter are at too great a distance for such a transposition to be made. However it is certain that this insertion hath in some measure disturbed the sense, and broken the connection of the discourse; for our translators as well as several others render the following words (ver. 16.) *And he gathered them together,* when the true construction is, *And they gathered them together,* the evil spirits and agents before mentioned gather all the forces of the popish princes together, *into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon,* that is *the mountain of destruction.*

17 And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done.

18 And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings: and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake *and* so great.

19 And the great city was divided into three parts; and the cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give

(2) Vide Bocharti Hieroz. Part. Post. Lib. 5. Cap. 4.

unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.

20 And every iland fled away, and the mountains were not found.

21 And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, *every stone* about the weight of a talent: and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail: for the plague thereof was exceeding great.

Vial the seventh (ver. 17.) is *poured out into the air,* the seat of Satan's residence, who is emphatically stiled (Eph. ii. 2.) *the prince of the power of the air,* and is represented (ver. 13.) as the principal actor in these latter scenes; so that this last period will not only complete the ruin of the kingdom of the beast, but will also shake the kingdom of Satan every where. Upon the pouring out of this vial a solemn proclamation is made *from the throne* of God himself, *It is done;* in the same sense as the angel before affirmed (x. 7.) that *in the days of the seventh trumpet the mystery of God should be finished.* Of this vial, as indeed of all the former, the completion is gradual; and the immediate effects and consequences are (ver. 18—21.) *voices, and thunders, and lightnings, and an earthquake, and great hail.* These portend great calamities. *Voices, and thunders, and lightnings,* are the usual attendants of the deity, especially in his judgments. *Great earthquakes* in prophetic language signify great changes and revolutions, and this is such an one as men never felt and experienced before, *such as was not since men were upon the earth.* Not only *the great city is divided into three parts* or factions, but *the cities of the nations fall* from their obedience to her. Her sins are *remembered before God,* and like another *Babylon* she will soon be made to drink of the bitter cup of his anger. Nay not only the work of men, *the cities fall;* but even the works of nature, *the ilands fly away, and the mountains are not found;* which is more than was said before (vi. 14.) that they *were moved out of their places,* and can import no less than an utter extirpation of ido-

latry. *Great hail* too often signifies the judgments of God, and these are uncommon judgments. Diodorus, a grave historian (3) speaketh of hailstones which weighed a pound and more; Philostargius mentions hail that weighed eight pounds; but these are *about the weight of a talent*, or about a hundred pounds, a strong figure to denote the greatness and severity of these judgments. But still the men continue obstinate, *and blaspheme God because of the plague of the hail;* they remain incorrigible under the divine judgments, and shall be destroyed before they will be reformed.

CHAP. XVII.

As the *seventh seal*, and the *seventh trumpet* contained many more particulars than any of the former seals, and former trumpets: so the *seventh vial* contains more than any of the former vials: and the more you consider, the more admirable you will find the structure of this book in all its parts. The destruction of the Antichristian empire is a subject of such importance and consequence, that the holy Spirit has thought fit to represent it under variety of images. Rome hath already been characterized by the names of *spiritual Egypt* and *Babylon:* and having seen how her plagues resemble those of *Egypt*, we shall now see her fall compared to that of *Babylon*. It was declared before in general (xiv. 8.) *Babylon is fallen, is fallen;* but this is a catastrophe deserving of a more particular description, both for a warning to some, and for a consolation to others. But before the description of her fall and destruction, there is premised an account of her state and condition, that there may be no mistake in the application. Rome was meant, as all both

(3) και χαλαζης απιστυ το μεγεθος· μιαααιαι γαρ επιπλον, ενι δ' οτε και μειζους. Et magnitudinis incredibilis grando: minæ enim pondo, et quandoque majores, decidebant. ['And the hail was of incredible size, for some fell which weighed a pound, and others more.'] Diodorus Sic. Lib. 19. de Rhodiorum diluvio. p. 695. Edit. Steph. p. 689. Edit. Rhodomani. Philost. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 11. Cap. 7.

(4) papists and protestants agree; and I think it appears almost to demonstration, that not Pagan but Christian, not imperial but papal Rome was here intended; and the arguments urged to the contrary by the Bishop of Meaux himself, the best and ablest advocate for popery, prove nothing so much as the weakness and badness of the cause, which they are brought to defend.

1 AND there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither, I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that sitteth upon many waters:

2 With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabiters of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.

3 So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness; and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads, and ten horns.

4 And the woman was arrayed in purple, and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stone and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication.

5 And upon her forehead *was* a name, written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.

6 And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus; and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration.

(4) Certissimum est nomine Babylonis Romam urbem significari. ['It is most certain, that by the name of Babylon is signified the city of Rome.'] Baronius ad Ann. 45. Johannes in Apocalypsi passim Romam vocat Babylonem.—Et aperte colligitur ex Cap. 17. Apocalypseos. ['John every where in the book of the Revelation calls Rome Babylon.—And this is manifest from Chap. xvii. of the Revelation.'] Bellarmin. de Rom. Pontif. Cap. 13, &c. &c. &c.

One of the seven angels, who had the seven vials, (ver. 1.) calleth to St. John. Most probably this was *the seventh angel;* for under the seventh vial *great Babylon came in remembrance before God,* and now St. John is called upon to see her condemnation and execution. *Come hither, I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that sitteth upon many waters.* So ancient Babylon, which was seated on the great river Euphrates, is described by Jeremiah (li. 13.) as *dwelling upon many waters:* and from thence the phrase is borrowed, and signifies, according to the angel's own explanation, (ver. 15.) ruling over many *peoples* and *nations.* Neither was this an ordinary prostitute; she was *the great whore,* (ver. 2.) *with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication:* as Tyre (Is. xxii. 17.) *committed fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth.* Nay not only *the kings,* but inferior persons, *the inhabiters of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication;* as it was said of ancient Babylon, (Jer. li. 7.) *the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad. Fornication* in the usual stile of scripture is idolatry; but if it be taken even litterally, it is true that modern Rome openly allows the one, as well as practises the other. Ancient Rome doth in no respect so well answer the character; for she ruled more with a rod of iron, than with *the wine of her fornication.* What, and where were the kings whom she courted and debauched to her communion? What, and where were the people, whom she inveigled and intoxicated with her idolatry? Her ambition was for extending her empire, and not her religion. She permitted even the conquered nations to continue in the religion of their ancestors, and to worship their own gods after their own rituals. She may be said rather to have been corrupted by the importation of foreign vices and superstitions, than to have established her own in other countries.

As Ezekiel, while he was a captive in Chaldæa, was conveyed by the spirit to Jerusalem, (Ezek. viii. 3.) so St. John (ver. 3.) *is carried away in the spirit into the*

wilderness; for there the scene is laid, being a scene of desolation. When the woman, the true church, was persecuted and afflicted, she was said (xii 14) *to fly into the wilderness:* and in like manner, when the woman, the false church, is to be destroyed, the vision is presented *in the wilderness* For they are by no means, as some have imagined, the same woman under various representations. They are totally distinct and different characters, and drawn in contrast to each other, as appears from their whole attire and behaviour, and particularly from these two circumstances; that during the 1260 years while the woman is *fed in the wilderness*, the beast and the scarlet whore are reigning and triumphant, and at the latter end the whore is *burnt with fire*, when the woman as *his wife, hath made herself ready for the marriage of the lamb. A woman sitting upon a beast* is a lively and significative emblem of a church or city directing and governing an empire. In painting and sculpture, as well as in prophetic language, cities are often represented in the form of women: and Rome herself is exhibited (5) in ancient coins as a woman sitting upon a lion. Here the beast is *a scarlet-coloured beast,* for the same reason as the dragon was (xii. 3.) *a red dragon;* to denote his cruelty, and in allusion to the distinguishing color of the Roman emperors and magistrates. The beast is also *full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns;* so that this is the very same beast which was described in the former part of the 13th chapter: and the woman in some measure answers to the two-horned beast or false prophet: and consequently the woman is Christian and not Pagan Rome: because Rome was become Christian, before the beast had completely *seven heads and ten horns,* that is before the Roman empire experienced its last form of government, and was divided into ten kingdoms. The woman is arrayed too (ver. 4.) *in purple and scarlet color,* this being the color of the popes and cardinals, as well as of the emperors and senators of

(5) Vitring. p. 757. Emmeness. ad Virg. Æn. VI. 854.

Rome. Nay the mules and horses, which carry the popes and cardinals, are covered with scarlet cloth, so that they may properly be said to ride *upon a scarlet colored beast.* The woman is also *decked with gold and precious stone, and pearls:* and who can sufficiently describe the pride, and grandeur, and magnificence of the church of Rome in her vestments and ornaments of all kinds? Alexander Donatus (6) hath drawn a comparison between ancient and modern Rome, and asserts the superiority of his own church in the pomp and splendor of religion. You have a remarkable instance in Paul II, of whom (7) Platina relates, that, "in his "pontifical vestments he outwent all his predecessors, "especially in his *regno* or mitre, upon which he had "laid out a great deal of money in purchasing at vast "rates, diamonds, saphirs, emeralds, chrysoliths, jaspers, "unions, and all manner of precious stones, wherewith "adorned like another Aaron he would appear abroad "somewhat more august than a man, delighting to be "seen and admired by every one. But lest he alone "should seem to differ from the rest, he made a decree, "that none but cardinals should under a penalty wear "red caps; to whom he had in the first year of his "popedom given cloth of that color, to make horse-"cloths and mule-cloths of when they rode." You have another conspicuous instance in the Lady of Loretto; the (8) riches of whose holy image, and house, and treasury; the golden angels, the gold and silver lamps; the vast number, variety, and richness of the jewels, of the vestments for the holy image, and for the priests; with the prodigious treasures of all sorts; are far beyond the reach of description; and as Mr. Addison says, "as much surpassed my expectation, as other "sights have generally fallen short of it. Silver can "scarce find an admission, and gold itself looks but "poorly amongst such an incredible number of pre-"cious stones." Moreover the woman like other har-

(6) Vitring. p. 759. Donat. de Urbe Roma. Lib. 1. Cap. 29.
(7) Platina's Lives of the Popes, translated by Sir Paul Rycaut. p. 414.
(8) See Wright's Travels. p. 123. Addison's Travels. p. 93.

lots who give philters and love-potions to inflame their lovers, hath *a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication;* to signify the specious and alluring arts, wherewith she bewitcheth and inciteth men to idolatry, which is *abomination and spiritual fornication.* It is an image copied from Jeremiah (li. 7.) *Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that hath made all the earth drunken:* and in that excellent little moral treatise (9), intitled the Table of Cebes, there is a like picture of Deceit or Imposture; 'a fair, beautiful, and false woman, and having a cup in 'her hand; she is called Deceit, and seduceth all man-'kind.' And is not this a much more proper emblem of pontifical than of imperial Rome?

Yet farther to distinguish the woman, she has her *name* inscribed *upon her forehead* (ver. 5.) in allusion to the practice of some notorious prostitutes, who had their names written in a label upon their foreheads, as we may (1) collect from ancient authors. The inscription is so very particular, that we cannot easily mistake the person; *Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots,* or rather *of fornications and abominations of the earth.* Her name *Mystery* can imply no less, than that she dealeth in *mysteries;* her religion is *a mystery, a mystery of iniquity;* and she herself is *mystically and spiritually Babylon the great.* But the title of *mystery* is in no respect proper to ancient Rome, more than any other city; and neither is there any mystery in substituting one heathen, idolatrous, and persecuting city for another; but it is indeed a mystery, that a christian city professing

(9) γυνη πεπλασμενη τω ειδει, και πιθανη φθαινομενη, και εν τη χειρι εχουσα ποτηριον τι—Απατη καλειται, η παντας τους ανθρωπους πλανωσα. Mulier ficto vultu, argutaque specie, et manu poculum quoddam tenens. Impostura vocatur, quæ omnes homines seducit. [Translated in the text.] Tab. Cebetis non longe ab initio.

(1) Nomen tuum pependit in fronte: pretia stupri accepisti; &c. ['Thy name hath hung upon thy forehead; thou hast received the reward of thy whoredom,' &c.] Seneca. Lib. 1. Controvers. 2. Juvenal. Sat. VI. 122.

—tunc nuda papillis
Constitit auratis, titulum mentita Lyciscæ.

['Then she continued naked with her breasts adorned with gold, falsely assuming the name of Lycisca.']

and boasting herself to be the city of God, should prove another Babylon in idolatry and cruelty to the people of God. She glories in the name of *Roman Catholic*, and well therefore may she be called *Babylon the great*. She affects the stile and title of *our holy mother the church*, but she is in truth *the mother of fornications and abominations of the earth*. Neither can this character with any propriety be applied to ancient Rome; for she was rather a learner of foreign superstitions, than the mistress of idolatry to other nations; as appears in various instances, and particularly from (2) that solemn form of adjuration, which the Romans used when they laid siege to a city, calling for the tutelary deities of the place, and promising them temples, and sacrifices, and other solemnities at Rome. It may be concluded therefore that this part of the prophecy is sufficiently fulfilled, tho' there should be reason to question the truth of what is asserted by some writers, that the word *mystery* was formerly written in letters of gold upon the forepart of the pope's mitre. Scaliger (3) affirms it upon the authority of the Duke de Montmorency, who received his information from a man of good credit at Rome. Francis le Moyne and Brocardus (4) confirm it, appealing to ocular inspection; and when king James

(2) Macrobii Saturnal. Lib. 3. Cap. 9.

(3) Feu Monsieur de Montmorency estant à Rome du temps qu'on parloit librement et du S. Pere et du S. Siege, apprit d'homme digne de foy, qu' à la verité le tiare pontifical avoit escript au frontal en lettres d'or *Mysterium*. [' The late Duke de Montmorency being at Rome, at a time when persons spake freely both of St. Peter and of the Holy See, learned from a man worthy of credit, that in truth the pope's mitre had written on the front of it in letters of gold the word *mystery*.'] Scal. in locum apud Critic. Sacr.

(4) Idem quoque confirmant Franc. le Moyne et Jacobus Brocardus in h. l. ad αυτοψιαν provocantes, non dissimulante Leonardo Lessio. ['The same is also confirmed by Francis le Moyne and James Brocard appealing to ocular inspection, and Leonardus Lessius not denying it.'] Wolfius in locum. In tiara in mitra papæ habes hoc verbum *Mysterium* scriptum: ut non sit tibi opus longius interpretationem quærere. ['In the turban or mitre of the pope you have this word *mystery* written; so that you have no need to seek farther for an interpretation.'] Brocard in locum apud Vitring. p. 763. Romanus pontifex, in sua tiara, hoc ipsum nomen inscriptum habuit *Mysterium* αυτοπται ipsi testati sunt: et cum id Jacobus Rex objiceret, Lessius negare non potuit. ['The pope of Rome on his mitre had this very name *mystery* inscribed, which had been attested by eye-witnesses: and when king James objected this, Lessius could not deny it.'] Downam. apud Poli Synops. in locum.

objected this, Lessius could not deny it. If the thing be true, it is a wonderful coincidence of the event with the letter of the prophecy; but it hath been much controverted, and you may see the authors on both sides in (5) Wolfius. It is much more certain, and none of that communion can deny it, that the ancient mitres were usually adorned with inscriptions. One particularly (6) there is "preserved at Rome as a precious relic of pope "Sylvester I, richly but not artfully embroidered with "the figure of the virgin Mary crowned, and holding "a little Christ, and these words in large capitals under-"neath, AVE REGINA CELI, *Hail queen of heaven,* "in the front; of which father Angelo Rocca, keeper "of the pope's sacristy, and an eminent antiquary has "given a copper-plate in the third vol. p. 490 of the "works of pope Gregory I. and it seems more probably "to have belonged to Gregory; because he is said to "have first instituted at Rome the litanies to the virgin "Mary." An inscription this directly contrary to that on the forefront of the high priest's mitre (Exod. xxviii. 36.) HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

Infamous as the woman is for her idolatry, she is no less detestable for her cruelty, which are the two principal characteristics of the Antichristian empire. She is (ver. 6.) *drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus:* which may indeed be applied both to Pagan and to Christian Rome, for both have in their turns cruelly persecuted *the saints and martyrs of Jesus:* but the latter is more deserving of the character, as she hath far exceeded the former both in the degree and duration of her persecutions. It is very true, as it was hinted before, that if Rome Pagan hath slain her thousands of innocent Christians, Rome Christian hath slain her ten thousands. For not to mention other outrageous slaughters and barbarities; the croisades against the Waldenses and Albigenses, the murders committed by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, the

(5) Jo. Christophori Wolfii Curæ Philolog. et Criticæ. Tom. 5.
(6) See Mann's Critical Notes on some passages of Scripture. p. 113.

massacres in France and Ireland, will probably amount to above ten times the number of all the Christians slain in all the ten persecutions of the Roman emperors put together. St. John's *admiration* also plainly evinces, that Christian Rome was intended: for it could be no matter of surprise to him, that a Heathen city should persecute the Christians, when he himself had seen and suffered the persecutions under Nero; but that a city professedly Christian, should wanton and riot in the blood of Christians, was a subject of astonishment indeed; and well might he, as it was emphatically expressed, *wonder with great wonder.*

7 And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns.

8 The beast that thou sawest, was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder (whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is.

9 And here *is* the mind which hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth.

10 And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, *and* the other is not yet come; and when he cometh he must continue a short space.

11 And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition.

12 And the ten horns which thou sawest, are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast.

13 These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast.

14 These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords,

and King of kings; and they that are with him, *are* called, and chosen, and faithful.

15 And he saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sittest, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.

16 And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate, and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.

17 For God hath put in their hearts to fulfill his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled.

18 And the woman which thou sawest, is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

It was not thought sufficient to represent these things only in vision; and therefore the angel, like the αγγελος, nuncius, or messenger in the ancient drama, undertakes to explain (ver. 7.) *the mystery*, the mystic scene or secret meaning, *of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her:* and the angel's interpretation is indeed the best key to the Revelation, the best clue to direct and conduct us thro' this intricate labyrinth.

The mystery of the beast is first explained; and the *beast* is considered first in general (ver. 8.) under a threefold state or succession, as existing, and then ceasing to be, and then reviving again, so as to become another and the same. He *was, and is not,* και παρεστιν *and yet is,* or according to other copies και παρεσται *and shall come, shall ascend out of the bottomless pit.* A *beast* in the prophetic stile, as we before observed, is a tyrannical idolatrous empire; and the Roman empire was idolatrous under the Heathen emperors, and then ceased to be so for some time under the Christian emperors, and then became idolatrous again under the Roman pontiffs, and so hath continued ever since. It is the same idolatrous power revived again, but only in another form; and all the corrupt part of mankind, whose names are not inrolled as good citizens in the registers of heaven, are pleased

at the revival of it; but in this last form it *shall go into perdition*; it shall not, as it did before, cease for a time, and revive again, but shall be destroyed for ever.

After this general account of the beast, there follows an explanation of the particular emblems, with a short preface intimating that they are deserving of the deepest attention, and are a proper exercise and trial of the understanding. *Here is the mind which hath wisdom:* (ver. 9.) as it was said upon a former occasion, (xiii. 18.) *Here is wisdom; let him that hath understanding count, &c.* The *seven heads* have a double signification. They are primarily *seven mountains on which the woman sitteth,* on which the capital city is seated; which all who who have the least tincture of letters know to be the situation of Rome. Historians, geographers, and poets, all speak of *the city with seven hills;* and passages might be quoted to this purpose without number and without end. It is observed too, that new Rome or Constantinople is situated on seven mountains: but these are very rarely mentioned, and mentioned only by obscure authors, in comparison of the others; and besides the seven mountains, other particulars also must coincide, which cannot be found in Constantinople. It is evident therefore, that the city *seated on seven mountains* must be Rome; and a plainer description could not be given of it, without expressing the name, which there might be several wise reason for concealing.

As *the seven heads* signify *seven mountains,* so they also signify *seven kings,* reigning over the seven mountains, (ver. 10, 11.) Και βασιλεις ἑπτα εισιν, *And they are seven kings,* or *kingdoms,* or *forms of government,* as the word imports, and hath been shown to import in former instances. *Five are fallen,* five of these forms of government are already past; *and one is,* the sixth is now subsisting. The *five fallen* are *kings,* and *consuls,* and *dictators,* and *decemvirs,* and *military tribunes with consular authority;* as they are enumerated and distinguished by those who should best know, the two greatest Roman

historians (7), Livy and Tacitus. The *sixth* is the power of the *Cæsars* or *emperors*, which was subsisting at the time of the vision. An end was put to the imperial name (8) in the year 476 by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who having taken Rome deposed Momyllus Augustulus, the last emperor of the west. He and his successors the Ostrogoths assumed the title of Kings of Italy: but tho' the name was changed, the power still continued much the same. This therefore cannot well be called a new form of government; it may rather be considered as a continuation of the imperial power, or as a renovation of the kingly authority. *Consuls* are reckoned but one form of government, tho' their office was frequently suspended, and after a time restored again; and in the same manner *kings* may be counted but one form of government, tho' the name was resumed after an interval of so many years. A new form of government was not erected, till Rome fell under the obedience of the eastern emperor, and the emperor's lieutenant, the exarch of Ravenna, dissolved all the former magistracies, and constituted a Duke of Rome, to govern the people, and to pay tribute to the exarchate of Ravenna. Rome had never experienced this form of government before; and this I conceive to be *the other*, which in the

(7) Quæ ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem Romani sub *regibus* primum, *consulibus* deinde ac *dictatoribus*, *decemvirisque* ac *tribunis consularibus* gessere. [The exploits of the Romans from the time of the building of the city to that of its being taken; first, under *kings*, then, under *consuls*, and *dictators*, and *decemvirs*, and *tribunes with consular authority*, &c.] Livii Lib. 6. Cap. 1. Urbem Romanam a principio *reges* habuere. Libertatem et *consulatum* L. Brutum instituit. *Dictaturæ* ad tempus sumebantur: neque *Decemvirālis potestas* ultra biennium, neque *tribunorum militum consulare jus* diu valuit. Non Cinnæ, non Sullæ longa dominatio; et Pompeii Crassique potentia, cito in Cæsarem; Lepidi atque Antonii arma, in Augustum cessere: qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine *principis* sub *imperium* accepit. [At first kings possessed the city of Rome. Lucius Brutus brought in liberty and the consulship. The dictatorship was resorted to for a time only, nor did the power of the decemvirs continue beyond two years, nor was the authority of military tribunes of long duration. The dominion of Cinna and Sylla was but short. The power of Pompey and Crassus quickly fell into the hands of Cæsar. The arms of Lepidus and Antony yielded to Augustus, who received under the title of sovereign the empire wearied out by civil broils.] Tacit. Annal. Lib. 1. in initio.

(8) Sigonius de Occidentali Imperio. Lib. 14. &c. Petavii Rat. Temp. Partis I. Lib. 6. Cap. 18.

apostle's days *was not yet come, and when he cometh, he must continue a short space.* For Rome was reduced to a dukedom tributary to the exarch of Ravenna by Longinus, who was sent exarch (9) in the year 566 according to some accounts, or in the year 568 according to others; and (1) the city revolted from the eastern emperor to the pope in the year 727; which is *a short space* in comparison of the imperial power, which preceded, and lasted above 500 years; and in comparison of the papal power, which followed, and hath now continued about a thousand years. But still possibly you may hesitate whether this is properly a new form of government, Rome being still subject to the imperial power, by being subject to the Greek emperor's deputy, the exarch of Ravenna: and according as you determin this point, *the beast that was and is not, was* while idolatrous, and *was not* while not idolatrous, will appear to be *the seventh* or *eighth.* If you reckon this a new form of government, (2) the beast that now is is *the eighth;* if you do not

(9) Sigonius de Regno Ital. Lib. 1. Petav. Rat. Temp. Par. 1. Lib. 7. Cap. 10.

(1) Sigon. ibid. Lib. 3.

(2) Mr. Mann explains the *seventh* and *eighth* otherwise. Quis igitur rex septimus erit? Nimirum ipse papa. Nam ex quo A. D. 534 eum ecclesiarum omnium caput declaravit Justinianus, alii omnium judicem, ipsum a nullo judicandum, tanta reverentia et obsequio ab Impp. ipsis cultus est, tanta authoritate ipsos subinde reprehendit, interdum etiam anathemate perculit, ut non minus dicendus sit regnasse in spiritualibus, quamvis se subditum semper servumque servorum diceret, quam in temporalibus imperatores. Tunc igitur papa e *septem illis*, id est ex genere atque ordine illorum principum qui præcesserant, esse dicendus erat, donec A. D. 727 Leonis imp. jugum, quem anno superiore excommunicarat, prorsus excussit Gregorius II, Romamque et regiones vicinas sibi subjecit. Ex illo enim tempore papa rex octavus merito haberi potest, cum gladio spirituali temporalem quoque dehinc adeptus. Scio esse, qui pulso Leone imp. negent Romam papæ subjectam fuisse, sed a Pipino A. D. 752. Exarchatum Ravennæ, &c. papæ datum tantum cum aliis urbibus, non ipsam Romam; sed mihi videntur non de re, sed umbra tantum certare. ['Who then will be the seventh king? Surely the pope. For from the year A. D. 534, in which Justinian declared him the head of all the churches, and others declared him the judge of all, and to be judged by none, he was treated with so much reverence and respect by the emperors themselves, and he now and then removed them with so much authority, sometimes even anathematizing them, that he might be said to have reigned no less in spiritual things, while he always called himself the servant of servants, than the emperors in temporal things. At that time the pope might be said, to be of *these seven*, that is, to be of the kind and order of those princes who had gone before him,

reckon this a new form of government, the beast is *of the seven;* but whether he be *the seventh* or *eighth,* he is the last form of government, *and goeth into perdition.* It appears evidently, that the sixth form of government, which was subsisting in St. John's time, is the imperial; and what form of government hath succeeded to that in Rome, and hath continued for *a long space* of time, but the papal? The beast therefore, upon which the woman rideth, is the Roman government in its last form: and this, all must acknowlege, is the papal, and not the imperial.

Having explained the mystery of *the seven heads,* the angel proceeds to the explanation of *the ten horns,* (ver. 12, 13, 14.) *the ten horns are ten kings, who have received no kingdom as yet:* and consequently they were not in being at the time of the vision; and indeed the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till some time after it was become Christian. *But they receive power as kings one hour* (3) μιαν ὡραν, at the same time, or for the same length of time, *with the beast:* It is true in both senses, they rise and fall together with the beast: and consequently they are not to be reckoned before the rise and establishment of the beast; and accordingly when a catalogue was produced of these ten kings or kingdoms in a dissertation upon Daniel, they were exhibited as they stood in the eighth century, which is the time of the rise and establishment of the beast. Kingdoms they might be before, but they were not before kingdoms or *horns* of the beast, till they embraced his religion, and submitted to his authority; and

until in the year 727, Gregory II. shook off altogether the yoke of the emperor Leo, whom he had excommunicated in the preceding year, and brought Rome and the adjoining countries under his dominion. For from that time the pope might justly be regarded as the eighth king, since from that time he held the temporal as well as the spiritual sword. I know, there are some who deny, that Rome became subject to the pope, on the expulsion of Leo II, but that this took place after; when in the year A. D. 752 the exarchate of Ravenna was given by Pepin to the Pope together with the cities which it included, and not Rome itself; but these appear to me to contend, not for the thing itself, but for the mere shadow.'] M. S.

(3) *Uno eodemque tempore.* ['At one and the same time.'] Vitring. Malim, ad unum idemque tempus, ut cum identitate temporis durationem complectatur. ['I would choose rather to say, at one and the same time, in order to comprehend the duration with the identity of time.'] Mr. Mann's M.S.

the beast strengthened them, as they again strengthened the beast. It is upon the seventh or last head of the beast that the horns are seen growing together; that is upon the Roman empire in its seventh or last form of government; and they are not, like the *heads*, successive, but contemporary kingdoms. *These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast;* which is easily understood and applied to the princes and states in communion with the church of Rome. However they may differ in other respects, yet they agree in submitting implicitly to the authority of the Roman church, and in defending its rights and prerogatives against all opposers. But where were ever ten kings or kingdoms, who were all unanimous in their submissions to the Roman empire, and voluntarily and of their own accord contributed *their power and strength*, their forces and riches to support and maintain it? *These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them;* they persecute the true church of Christ, but the true church shall in the end prevail and triumph over them; which particulars have been fulfilled in part already, and will be more fully accomplished hereafter.

In the former part of this description (ver. 1.) *the whore* is represented like ancient Babylon, *sitting upon many waters:* and these waters are here (ver. 15.) said expresly to (4) signify *peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.* So many words in the plural number fitly denote the great extensiveness of her power and jurisdiction: and it is a remarkable peculiarity of Rome, different from all other governments in the world, that her authority is not limited to her own immediate subjects, and confined within the bounds of her own dominions, but extends over all kingdoms and countries professing the same religion. She herself glories in the

(4) Idque huc loco tanto magis apposite, quod ex populi reverentia et favore primò excrevit potestas illa papalis, et per decem aut plura sæcula populi Romani suffragiis creati sunt papæ. ['And that in this place is so much the more in point, because from the reverence and kindness of the people, it was that the papal power was first advanced, and during ten centuries or more the popes were elected by the suffrages of the Roman people.'] Mr. Mann's M.S.

title of the *Catholic* church, and exults in the number of her votaries as a certain proof of the true religion. Cardinal (5) Bellarmin's first note of the true church is *the very name of the Catholic church:* and his fourth note is *amplitude, or multitude and variety of believers;* for the truly catholic church, says he, ought not only to comprehend all ages, but likewise all places, all nations, all kinds of men. But notwithstanding the general current in her favor, the tide shall turn against her; and the hands which helped to raise her, shall also pull her down. (ver. 16.) *The ten horns shall hate the whore;* that is by a common figure of the whole for a part, *some* of the ten kings, for others (xviii. 9.) *shall bewail her and lament for her,* and (xix. 19.) shall fight and perish in the cause of the beast. Some of the kings who formely loved her, grown sensible of her exorbitant exactions and oppressions, shall *hate her,* shall strip, and expose, and plunder her, and utterly consume her with fire. Rome therefore will finally be destroyed by some of the princes, who are reformed, or shall be reformed from popery: and as the kings of France have contributed greatly to her advancement, it is not impossible, nor improbable, that some time or other they may also be the principal authors of her destruction. France hath already shown some tendency towards a reformation, and therefore may appear more likely to accomplish it. Nay even the kings of Spain and Portugal, their most *catholic* and *faithful* Majesties, as they are stiled, have restrained the power of the Pope, and the Inquisition, and have not only banished the Jesuits from their respective kingdoms, but have likewise insisted upon the suppression of that order, which may be considered as leading steps to some farther revolution. Such a revolution may more reasonably be expected, because (ver. 17.) this infatuation of popish princes is permitted by divine providence only for a certain period, *until the words of God shall be ful-*

(5) Prima Nota, est ipsum Catholicæ Ecclesiæ et Christianorum nomen. [Translated in the text.] Bellar. de Notis Ecclesiæ, Lib. 4. Cap. 4. Quarta Nota, est amplitudo, sive multitudo et varietas credentium. Ecclesiæ enim vere catholicæ, non solum debet amplecti omnia tempora, sed etiam omnia loca, omnes nationes, omnium hominum genera. [Translated in the text.] Ibid. Cap. 7.

filled, and particularly the words of the prophet Daniel, (vii. 25, 26.) *They shall be given into his hand, until a time and times, and the dividing of time: But* then, as it immediately follows, *the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end.*

Little doubt can remain after this, what idolatrous church was meant by *the whore of Babylon:* But for the greater assuredness it is added by the angel, (ver. 18.) *The woman which thou sawest is that great city.* The angel had undertaken to *tell the mystery of the woman, and of the beast.* He hath explained the mystery of the beast, and of his seven heads and ten horns; and his explanation of the mystery of the woman is *that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.* And what city at the time of the vision *reigned over the kings of the earth,* but Rome? She too hath ever since *reigned over the kings of the earth,* if not with temporal, yet at least with spiritual authority. In the arts of government she hath far exceeded all the cities both of ancient and of modern times: as if she had constantly remembered and put in practice the advice of the poet,

> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
> Hæ tibi erunt artes. VIRGIL.

Rome therefore is evidently and undeniably *this great city;* and that Christian and not Heathen, papal and not imperial Rome was meant, hath appeared in several instances, and will appear in several more.

CHAP. XVIII.

1 AND after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power: and the earth was lightened with his glory.

2 And he cried mightily with a strong voice saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of

every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.

3 For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.

4 And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues:

5 For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

6 Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double.

7 How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow.

8 Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burnt with fire: for strong *is* the Lord God who judgeth her.

After this account of the state and condition of spiritual Babylon, there follows a description of her fall and destruction, in the same sublime and figurative stile as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel have foretold the fall of ancient Babylon and Tyre, the types and emblems of the spiritual Babylon. A mighty and glorious angel descends from heaven, (ver. 1, 2, 3.) and proclaims as before, (xiv. 8.) the fall of Babylon, and together with her punishment, the crimes which deserved it, her idolatry and wickedness. It is farther added, that after her fall she shall be made a scene of desolation, and become the habitation of hateful birds and beasts of prey; as Isaiah also predicted concerning ancient Babylon, (xiii. 21.) *Wild beasts of the deserts shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls*

shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there: where the word that we translate *satyrs*, the Seventy translate δαιμονια, *demons* or *devils*, who (6) were supposed sometimes to take the shape of goats or satyrs, and to haunt forlorn and desolate places: and it is from the translation of the Seventy that the apostle hath borrowed his images and expressions. But if this fall of Babylon was effected by Totilas king of the Ostrogoths, as Grotius affirms, or by Alaric king of the Visigoths, as the Bishop of Meaux contends, how can Rome be said ever since to have been *the habitation of devils, and the hold of ever foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird*, unless they will allow the popes and cardinals to merit these appellations?

Another voice is also *heard from heaven*, (ver. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.) exhorting all Christians to forsake the communion of so corrupt a church, lest they should be *partakers of her sins and of her plagues*, and at the same time denouncing that her punishment shall be great and extraordinary in proportion to her crimes. But was there any such necessity of forsaking the church of Rome in the days of Alaric or Totilas before she had yet degenerated again into idolatry? or what were then her notorious crimes deserving of such exemplary punishment, unless Rome Christian was to suffer for the sins of Rome Pagan? *She saith in her heart*, like ancient Babylon, (Is. xlvii. 7, 8.) *I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow;* She glories like ancient Rome, in the name (7) of *the eternal city:* but notwithstanding *she shall be utterly burnt with fire; for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.* These expressions can imply no less than a total destruction by fire; but Rome hath never yet been totally destroyed by fire. The most that (8) Alaric and (9) Totilas did, was burning

(6) Vide Bocharti Hieroz. Part. prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 55. Col. 643.

(7) It is is to be found in the very title of Kircher's Obeliscus Pamphilius: In *urbis æternæ* ornamentum erexit Innocentius X. Pont Max. ['Innocent X. the supreme Pontiff erected it as an ornament *of the eternal city.*'] apud Daubuz. p. 812.

(8) Tertiâ die barbari, quam ingressi fuerant urbem, sponte discedunt, facto quidem *aliquantarum ædium incendio*, &c. ['On the third day, the barbarians of their own accord departed from the city into which they had

some parts of the city; but if only some parts of the city were burnt, it was not an event important enough to be ascribed to *the Lord God* particularly, and to be considered as a *strong* exertion of his judgment.

9 And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning:

10 Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come.

11 And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth her merchandise any more:

12 The merchandise of gold and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble.

13 And cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men.

14 And the fruits that thy soul lusted after, are

entered, *after having set fire to some houses,*' &c.]; Oros, Hist. Lib. 7. Cap. 39. Edit. Havercam, Alaricus trepidam urbem Romam invasit, *partemque ejus cremavit incendio*, &c. [' Alaric attacked the city of Rome, which was now thrown into consternation, *and burnt a part of it with fire*,' &c.] Marcellini Chron. Indict. 8. p. 38. Edit. Scaligeri. Quinetiam *ædificia quædam incensa*, aliáque opera temerè furore barbarico deturbata sunt. [' Moreover some houses were set on fire, and some works thrown down by the fury of the barbarians.'] Sigonii Hist. de Occidentali Imperio Lib. 10. in fine.

(9) Procop. de Bell. Goth. Lib. 3. Cap. 22 Ρωμην δε ουτε καθελειν ουτε απολιπειν τοιουτου Τωτιλας ηθελεν. Porro Totilas Romam nec delere, nec relinquere amplius voluit. [' But Totilas would neither destroy, nor for the future leave the city of Rome.'] Ibid. Cap. 36. Ibid. Lib. 4. Cap. 22. Totilas dolo Isaurorum ingreditur Romam die XVI. Kal. Jan. ac evertit muros, *domos aliquantas igni comburens*, &c. [' Totilas by a stratagem of the Isaurians enters into Rome, on the sixteenth of the Calends of January, and pulls down the walls, *and burns a few houses with fire*,' &c.] Marcellini Chron. p. 54. ibid. Sigonius ibid. Lib. 19.

departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly, are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all.

15 The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing;

16 And saying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was cloathed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! for in one hour so great riches is come to nought.

17 And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailers, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off,

18 And cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What *city* is like unto this great city?

19 And they cast dust on their heads, and cried weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas, that great city wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate.

20 Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her.

In this solemn manner, by an angel and by a voice from heaven, is declared the fall of Rome, and her destruction by fire: and then are set forth the consequences of her fall, the lamentations of some, and the rejoicings of others. *The kings* of her communion, *who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, bewail and lament for her:* (ver. 9, 10.) but what kings were they who *lived deliciously* with old Rome, and had reason to lament her fall? *The merchants of the earth weep and mourn over her;* (ver. 11—17.) for there is an end of all traffic and commerce with her, whether spiritual or temporal; for it is intimated (ver. 13.) that they make merchandise of the *souls* as well as of the *bodies* of men. *The ship-masters, and sailers, and as many as trade by sea,*

weep and wail: (ver. 17, 18, 19.) for they can now no longer import or export commodities for her, or convey strangers to and fro; for there is an end of all her *costliness.* These lamentations are copied from the like lamentations over Tyre in the 26th and 27th chapters of Ezekiel; and are equal to the most mournful strains of the Greek tragedians over Thebes or Troy. In all they *stand afar off,* (ver. 10, 15, 17.) as if they were unable or afraid to help and assist her. In all they cry οὐαὶ, οὐαὶ, *alas, alas,* (ver. 10, 16, 19.) which is the *third woe* οὐαὶ before mentioned; (viii. 13. xi. 14.) for as the fall of the Othman empire is the end of *the second woe,* so the fall of Rome is the completion of *the third woe.* In all they lament the suddenness of her fall: (ver. 10, 17, 19.) *for in one hour* is her destruction come. At the same time her destruction is matter of joy and triumph (ver. 20.) to *the holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged them on her;* but what reason had the Christians to rejoice over the calamities brought on Rome by Alaric or Totilas, in which they themselves were the principal sufferers? and how were these calamities any vindication of their cause or of the cause of true religion?

21 And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great milstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all.

22 And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee: and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft *he be,* shall be found any more in thee; and the sound of a milstone shall be heard no more at all in thee:

23 And the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived:

24 And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.

Yet farther to confirm the sudden fall and irrecoverable destruction of Rome, an emblem is copied and improved from Jeremiah; (li. 63, 64.) *a mighty angel* (ver. 21.) *casteth a milstone into the sea,* declaring that *with the same violence this great city shall be thrown down,* and shall never rise again. Her utter desolation is farther described (ver. 22, 23.) in phrases and expressions borrowed from the ancient prophets. (Is. xxiv. 8. Jer. vii. 34. xvi. 9. xxv. 10. Ezek. xxvi. 13.) There shall be no more *musicians* for the entertainment of the rich and great; no more *tradesmen* or *artificers* to furnish the conveniences of life; no more *servants* or *slaves* to grind at the mill, and supply the necessaries of life. Nay, there shall be no more *lights,* no more *bridal songs;* the city shall never be peopled again by new marriages, but shall remain depopulated for ever. For which utter desolation there are assigned these reasons, (ver. 23, 24.) her *pride* and *luxury,* her *superstition* and *idolatry,* her *tyranny* and *cruelty.* Her punishment shall be as severe and exemplary, as if she had been guilty of all the persecutions that ever were upon account of religion; for by her conduct she hath approved, and imitated, and surpassed them all. But Rome hath never yet been depopulated and desolated in this manner. She hath been taken indeed and plundered (1) by Alaric king of the Visigoths in the year 410, by Genseric king of the Vandals in the year 455, by Totilas king of the Ostrogoths in the year 546, and by others since that time: but yet she is still standing and florishing, and is honored by many nations as the metropolis of the Christian world; she still resounds with *singers* and *musicians;* she still excels in *arts* which serve to pomp and luxury; she still abounds with *candles,* and *lamps,* and *torches,* burning even by day as well as by

(1) See Petav. Rat. Temp. and Blair's Chron. Tables.

night; and consequently this prophecy hath not yet been, but remains yet to be fulfilled.

CHAP. XIX.

1 AND after these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power unto the Lord our God:

2 For true and righteous *are* his judgments; for he hath judged the great whore; which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.

3 And again they said Alleluia. And her smoke rose up for ever and ever.

4 And the four and twenty elders, and the four beasts fell down and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen; Alleluia.

5 And a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God, all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great.

6 And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

7 Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.

8 And to her was granted, that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints.

9 And he saith unto me, Write, Blessed *are* they which are called unto the marriage-supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God.

10 And I fell at his feet to worship him: and he said unto me, See *thou do it* not: I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony

of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.

Hereupon the whole church, (ver. 1—4.) agreeably to the exhortation of the angel, (xviii. 20.) join praises and thanksgivings to Almighty God for his *truth* and *righteousness* in judging this idolatrous city, his *truth* in fulfilling his promise and threatenings, and his *righteousness* in proportioning her punishment to her crimes. *And her smoke rose up for ever and ever;* which intimates that she should be made as signal a monument of divine vengeance as Sodom and Gomorrah. It is taken from Isaiah, who hath said much the same thing of Edom, and by Edom (2) the Jews understand Rome, (Isaiah xxxiv. 9, 10.) *And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch;* in the genuin (3) editions of the Chaldee paraphrase it is, *And the rivers* of Rome *shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever.* This tradition of the rabbins may receive some confirmation from these words of the apostle: and such an event may appear the more probable, because the adjacent countries are known to be of a sulphureous and bituminous soil; there have even at Rome been (4) eruptions of subterraneous fire, which have consumed several buildings; so that the fuel seemeth to be prepared, and waiteth only for the breath of the Lord to kindle it. But God is praised not only for the destruction of the great seat of idolatry, but also (ver. 5—8.) for the manifes-

(2) R. David in principio Obadiæ, *Quod autem dicunt prophetæ de vastatione Edom in extremitate dierum, de Roma dixerunt.* ['Rabbi David at the beginning of Obadiah, 'but what the prophets say of the destruction of Edom in the last days, they have spoken concerning Rome.'] Buxtorf. Chal. Lex. in voce רומא.

(3) *Et convertentur flumina* Romæ *in picem, &c.* Posteriores editiones vocem *Romæ* omiserunt. ['*And the rivers* of Rome *shall be turned into pitch,' &c.* The later editions have omitted the word Rome.] Buxtorf. ibid.

(4) Vide Dionis Hist. Lib. 66. in Tito, πυρ δε δη ἑτερον επιγειον τω εξης ετει πολλα πανυ της Ρωμης επενειματο. κ. τ. λ. 'Ignis autem alius supra terram exortus anno insequenti magnam admodum Romæ partem absumsit, &c. ['But another fire bursting forth upon the earth, in the following year, consumed a very great part of Rome, &c.'] p. 756. Edit. Leunclav.

tation of his kingdom, as before, (xi. 17.) and for the happy and glorious state of the reformed Christian church. She is no *harlot* tainted with idolatry, but a *spouse* prepared for her Lord Christ; she is not arrayed like an harlot *in purple and scarlet color*, but like a decent bride, *in fine linen, clean and white*, as the properest emblem of her purity and sanctity. Christ hath now as St. Paul expresseth it, (Eph. v. 26, 27.) *sanctified and cleansed his church with the washing of water, by the word, That he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish.* So great is the felicity of this period, that the angel orders it (ver. 9.) to be particularly noted: and blessed and happy are they who shall be living at this time, and be worthy to partake of this marriage feast. It is a matter of consolation to all good Christians, and they may assuredly depend upon it, as the never-failing word of God. St. John was in such rapture and extasy at these discoveries, that (ver. 10.) not knowing or not considering what he did, he *fell down at the angels feet to worship him:* but the angel prohibits all manner of worship, for he was no more than *a fellow servant* of the apostle's, and of all true prophets, of all *who have the testimony of Jesus*, and *the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.* Worship not me then, says the angel, but *God*, whose servants we both are, and who inspires us both with the same spirit of prophecy.

11 And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him *was* called faithful and true, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

12 His eyes *were* as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written that no man knew but he himself:

13 And he *was* cloathed with a vesture dipt in blood: and his name is called, The Word of God.

14 And the armies which were in heaven follow-

ed him upon white horses, cloathed in fine linen, white and clean.

15 And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.

16 And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

17 And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God;

18 That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.

19 And I saw the beast and the kings of the earth and their armies gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

20 And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

21 And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which *sword* proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.

It was said by the angel, speaking of the kings subject to the beast, (xvii. 14.) *These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords and King of kings; and they that are with him, are called, and chosen, and faithful:* and this vision

(ver. 11—21.) is added by way of inlargement and explanation of that great event. *Heaven* is *opened*, and our Saviour cometh forth riding *upon a white horse*, as a token of his victory and triumph over his enemies. He is described in such characters as are appropriated to him in this book, and in the ancient prophets. *On his head* also *were many crowns*, to denote his numerous conquests and kingdoms, which were now (xi. 15.) *become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.* As the Jewish high-priest wore the ineffable name of Jehovah on his forehead, so he had *a name written*, which none could perfectly comprehend but himself; *and his name is called The Word of God.* He had likewise another *name written* on that part of his vesture which covered his thigh, *King of kings, and Lord of lords*; a title much affected by the (5) eastern monarchs, and by Antichrist himself. The pope is (6) stiled *King of kings, and Lord of lords*; but what he is only in pretence, Christ is in reality. His armies are mounted *upon white horses*, as well as himself, and are *cloathed in fine linen, white and clean*, as emblems of their victory and sanctity. *An angel standing in the sun*, and so conspicuous to all, in lofty strains copied from the ancient prophets, and particularly from Ezekiel, (xxxix. 17, 18.) calleth the fowls to the great slaughter of Christ's enemies. These enemies are *the beast and the false prophet*, the Antichristian powers civil and ecclesiastical, with *their armies gathered together*, their adherents and followers combined and determined to support idolatry, and oppose all reformation. But the principals, as deserving of the greatest punishment, are *taken, and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone*: and their followers are *slain* with the word of Christ, *the sword which proceeded out of his mouth; and all the fowls*

(5) *Artaxerxes king of kings*, Ezra vii. 12. Rex. regum Sapor. ['Sapor king of kings.'] Amm. Marcell. Lib. 17. Cap. 5. p. 163. Edit. Valesii. Paris 1681. βασιλευς βασιλεων και δισποτης δισποτων Σισωσις. Rex regum, et dominus dominorum Sesoosis, vel Sesostris. ['Sesoosis, king of kings, and lord of lords.'] Diod Sic. Lib. 1. p. 35. Edit. Steph. p. 51. Edit. Rhodomani.

(6) See Jewel's Defense of his Apology. Part 5. and Barrow's Introduction to his Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.

are filled with their flesh, their substance is seised for other persons, and for other uses. In a word, the design of this sublime and figurative description is to show the downfall of Popery, and the triumph of Christianity: the true word of God will prevail over superstition and idolatry; all the powers of Antichrist shall be completely subdued; and the religion of Rome, as well as Rome herself, be totally destroyed.

CHAP. XX.

1 AND I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand.

2 And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years,

3 And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.

4 And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and *I saw* the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

5 But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This *is* the first resurrection.

6 Blessed and holy *is* he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years.

After the destruction of the beast and of the false prophet, there still remains *the dragon*, who had delegated his power to them, *that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan:* but he is bound by *an angel*, an especial minister of providence; and the famous millennium commences, or the reign of the saints upon earth for a thousand years, (ver. 1—6.) *Binding him with a great chain, casting him into the bottomless pit, shutting him up, and setting a seal upon him*, are strong figures to show the strict and severe restraint which he should be laid under, *that he might deceive the nations no more* during this whole period. Wickedness being restrained, the reign of righteousness succeeds, and the administration of justice and judgment is given to the saints of the most High: and the martyrs and confessors of Jesus, not only those who *were beheaded* or suffered any kind of death under the heathen emperors, but also those who refused to comply with the idolatrous worship *of the beast and of his image*, are raised from the dead, and have the principal share in the felicities of Christ's kingdom upon earth. *But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished;* so that it was a peculiar prerogative of the martyrs and confessors above the rest of mankind. *This is the first resurrection*, a particular resurrection preceding the general one at least a thousand years. *Blessed and holy* too *is he who hath part in the first resurrection;* he is *holy* in all the senses of the word, *holy* as separated from the common lot of mankind, *holy* as indowed with all virtuous qualifications, and none but such are admitted to partake of this blessed state. *On such the second death hath no power. The second death* is a Jewish phrase for the punishment of the wicked after death. So the (7) Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos upon that text in Deuteronomy (xxxiii. 6.) *Let Reuben live, and not die*, hath *Let him not die the second death;* and the other paraphrases of Jonathan Ben Uziel and of Jerusalem have *Let him not die the second death by*

(7) Non moriatur morte secunda. Onk. Nec moriatur morte qua morientur improbi in futuro seculo. Jonath. Neque moriatur morte secunda qua moriuntur improbi in futuro seculo. Hieros. [Translated in the text.]

which the wicked die in the world to come. It is a familiar phrase in the Chaldee paraphrases and Jewish writings, and in this very book (xx. 14. xxi. 8.) it is declared to be the same as *the lake burning with fire and brimstone.* The sons of the resurrection therefore shall not die again, but shall live in eternal bliss, as well as enjoy all the glories of the millennium, *be priests of God and of Christ, and reign with him a thousand years.*

Nothing is more evident than that this prophecy of the millennium, and of the first resurrection, hath not yet been fulfilled, even tho' the resurrection be taken in a figurative sense. For reckon the thousand years with Usher from the time of Christ, or reckon them with Grotius from the time of Constantine, yet neither of these periods, nor indeed any other, will answer the description and character of the millennium, the purity and peace, the holiness and happiness of that blessed state. Before Constantine indeed the church was in greater purity, but was groaning under the persecutions of the heathen emperors. After Constantine the church was in greater prosperity, but was soon shaken and disturbed by heresies and schisms, by the incursions and devastations of the northern nations, by the conquering arms and prevailing imposture of the Saracens, and afterwards of the Turks, by the corruption, idolatry, and wickedness, the usurpation, tyranny, and cruelty of the church of Rome. If Satan was then *bound,* when can he be said to be *loosed?* Or how could *the saints* and *the beast,* Christ and Antichrist, reign at the same period? This prophecy therefore remains yet to be fulfilled, even tho' the resurrection be taken only for an allegory, which yet the text cannot admit without the greatest torture and violence. For with what propriety can it be said, that some of the dead *who were beheaded lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years, but the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished,* unless *the dying* and *living again* be the same in both places, a proper death and resurrection? Indeed the *death* and *resurrection* of the witnesses before mentioned (Chap. xi.) appears from the concurrent circum-

stances of the vision to be figurative, but the *death* and *resurrection* here mentioned must for the very same reasons be concluded to be real. If the martyrs rise only in a spiritual sense, then *the rest of the dead* rise only in a spiritual sense; but if *the rest of the dead* really rise, the martyrs rise in the same manner. There is no difference between them; and we should be cautious and tender of making the first resurrection an allegory, lest others should reduce the second into an allegory too, like those whom St. Paul mentions (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.) *Hymeneus and Philetus, who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some.* It is to this first resurrection that St. Paul alludes, when he affirms (1 Thes. iv. 16.) that *the dead in Christ shall rise first,* and (1 Cor. xv. 23.) that *every man shall be made alive in his own order, Christ the first fruits, afterward they that are Christ's at his coming, and then cometh the end,* after the general resurrection.

In the general that there shall be such a happy period as the millennium, that *the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High* (Dan. vii. 27.) that Christ shall have *the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession,* (Psal. ii. 8.) that *the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea,* (Isa. xi. 9.) *that the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved,* (Rom. xi. 25, 26.) in a word that the kingdom of heaven shall be established upon earth, is the plain and express doctrin of Daniel and all the prophets as well as of St. John; and we daily pray for the accomplishment of it in praying *Thy kingdom come.* But of all the prophets St. John is the only one who hath declared particularly and in express terms, that the martyrs shall rise to partake of the felicities of this kingdom, and that it should continue upon earth a thousand years: and the Jewish church before him, and the Christian church after him, have farther believed and taught, that these thousand years will be

the seventh millenary of the world. A pompous heap of quotations might be produced to this purpose both from Jewish and Christian writers: but I choose to select only a few of the most material of each sort; you may find a great number (8) in Dr. Burnet and other authors who have treated of this subject.

Of the Jewish writers (9) Rabbi Ketina, as cited in the Gemara or gloss of their Talmud, said that 'the 'world endures six thousand years, and one thousand it 'shall be laid waste, (that is the enemies of God shall 'be destroyed) whereof it is said, (Is. ii. 11.) *The Lord 'alone shall be exalted in that day.* Tradition assents 'to Rabbi Ketina: as out of seven years every seventh 'is the year of remission, so out of the seven thousand 'years of the world the seventh millennary shall be the 'millennary of remission, that *God alone may be exalted 'in that day.*' It was (1) the tradition of the house of Elias, who lived two hundred years or thereabouts before Christ, and the tradition might perhaps be derived from Elias the Tishbite, that 'the world endures six thousand 'years, two thousand before the Law, two thousand un-'der the Law, and two thousand under the Messiah.' It was also (2) the tradition of the house of Elias, that 'the 'just whom God shall raise up (meaning in the first re-

(8) Burnet's Theory. B. 3. Ch. 5. B. 4. Ch. 6. Mede Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de Magno die Judicii. p. 535. B. 5. Ch. 3. p. 892, &c. &c.

(9) Dixit Rabbi Ketina, Sex annorum millibus stat mundus, ut uno (millenario) vastabitur; de quo dicitur, *Et exaltabitur Dominus solus die illo.* Traditio adstipulatur R. Ketinæ: sicut ex septenis annis septimus quique annus remissionis est, ita ex septem millibus annorum mundi septimus millenarius millenarius remissionis erit, ut *Dominus solus exaltetur in die illo.* [Translated in the text.] In Gemara Sanhedrim, apud Mede. p. 535 et p. 893.

(1) Traditio domûs Eliæ: Sex mille annos durat mundus: bis mille annis inanitas; bis mille annis Lex; denique bis mille annis dies Christi. [Translated in the text.]. Apud Mede. p. 356 et p. 894. Burnet's Theory. B. 3. Ch. 5.

(2) Traditio domûs Eliæ: Justi quos resuscitabit Deus non redigentur iterum in pulverem. Si quæras autem, Mille annis istis quibus Deus sanctus benedictus renovaturus est mundum suum, de quibus dicitur *Et exaltabitur Dominus solus in die illo*, quid justis futurum sit; sciendum, quod Deus sanctus benedictus dabit illis alas quasi aquilarum, ut volent super facie aquarum; unde dicitur (Psal. xlvi. 2.) *Propterea non timebimus, cum mutabitur terra.* At forte (inquies) erit ipsis dolori seu afflictioni. Sed occurrit illud Isa. xl. 31.) *Exspectantibus Dominum innovabuntur vires, efferentur alâ instar aquilarum.* [Translated in the text.] Apud Mede, p. 776.

'surrection) shall not be turned again into dust. Now 'if you inquire, how it shall be with the just in those 'thousand years wherein the holy blessed God shall re- 'new his world, whereof it is said *And the Lord alone 'shall be exalted in that day;* you must know that the 'holy blessed God will give them the wings as it were 'of eagles, that they may fly upon the face of the 'waters; whence it is said (Psal. xlvi. 2.) *Therefore 'will we not fear, when the earth shall be changed.* 'But perhaps you will say, it shall be a pain and afflic- 'tion to them. Not at all, for it is said, (Is. xl. 31.) *They 'that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they 'shall mount up with wings as eagles.'*

Of the Christian writers St. Barnabas in the first century (3) thus comments upon those words of Moses, '*And 'God made in six days the works of his hands, and he 'finished them on the seventh day, and he rested in it, 'and sanctified it.* Consider, children, what that signifies, '*he finished them in six days.* This it signifies, that the 'Lord God will finish all things in six thousand years. 'For a day with him is a thousand years; as he himself 'testifieth saying, *Behold this day shall be as a thou- 'sand years.* Therefore, children, in six days, that is 'in six thousand years, shall all things be consummated. '*And he rested the seventh day:* this signifies, that when 'his Son shall come, and shall abolish the season of the

(3) Και εποιησεν ὁ Θεος εν ἑξ ἡμεραις τα εργα των χειρων αὐτου, και συνετελεσεν εν τῃ ἡμερᾳ τῃ ἑβδομῃ, και κατεπαυσεν εν αὐτῃ, και ηγιασεν αὐτην. Προσεχετε, τεκνα, τι λεγει, το συνετελεσεν εν ἑξ ἡμεραις· τουτο λεγει. ὁτι συντελει ὁ Θεος κυριος εν ἑξακισχιλιοις ετεσι τα παντα. Ἡ γαρ ἡμερα παρ αὐτῳ χιλια ἐτη, αὐτος δε μαρτυρει, λεγων, ἰδου σημερον ἡμερα εσται ὡς χιλια ἐτη. Ουκουν, τεκνα, εν ἑξ ἡμεραις εν τοις ἑξακισχιλιοις ετεσι συντελεσθησεται τα παντα. Και κατεπαυσε τῃ ἡμερα τῃ ἑβδομῃ· τουτο λεγει, ὁταν ελθων ὁ υἱος αὐτου, και καταργησει τον καιρον ανομου, και κρινει τους ασεβεις, και αλλαξει τον ἡλιον, και την σεληνην, και τους ἀστερας, τοτε καλως καταπαυσεται εν τῃ ἡμερα τῃ ἑβδομῃ. *Fecitque Deus in sex diebus opera manuum suarum, et consummavit in die septima, et in ea requievit, et sanctificavit eam.* Advertite, filii, quid dicat; *consummavit in sex diebus:* id ait; omnia consummabit Dominus Deus in sex millibus annorum. Nam apud illum dies æquiparatur mille annis, ut ipsemet testatur dicens, *Ecce hodiernus dies erit tanquam mille anni.* Itaque, filii, in sex diebus hoc est, in sex annorum millibus consummabuntur universa. *Et requievit die septima:* hoc ait; quando veniens ejus filius tempus Iniqui abolebit, ac judicabit impios, et mutabit solem ac lunam, stellasque, tunc pulcre requiescet in die septima. [Translated in the text.] S. Barnabæ Epist. Cap. 15. Edit. Cotelerii, et Clerici.

'wicked one, and shall judge the ungodly; and shall 'change the sun, and the moon, and the stars, then he 'shall rest gloriously in that seventh day.' Justin Martyr in the second century (4) declares the millennium to be the catholic doctrin of his time. 'I, and as 'many as are orthodox Christians in all respects, do 'acknowlege that there shall be a resurrection of the 'flesh, (meaning the first resurrection) and a thousand 'years in Jerusalem rebuilt, and adorned, and inlarged, '(that is in the new Jerusalem) as the prophets Ezekiel, 'and Isaiah, and others unanimously attest.' Afterwards he subjoins, 'A certain man among us, whose 'name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, in a re-'velation made to him did prophecy that the faithful 'believers in Christ should live a thousand years in the 'new Jerusalem, and after these should be the general 'resurrection and judgment:' which is an early attestation to the genuinness and authenticity of the book of the Revelation; for Justin was converted to Christianity about thirty years after the death of St. John, at which time probably many were alive, who had known and remembered the apostle. Dr. Middleton in his Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers, &c. has done great injustice to Justin Martyr as well as to several of the fathers. In treating of the millennium (p. 26.) he represents Justin as saying, "that all the saints should be raised "in the flesh, and reign with Christ in Jerusalem, in-

(4) εγω δε, και ει τινες εισιν ορθογνωμονες καθα παντα χριστιανοι, και σαρκος αναστασιν γενησεσθαι επιστωμεθα, και χιλια ἑτη εν Ιερουσαλημ, οικοδομηθεισαν, και κοσμηθεισαν, και πλατυνθεισαν, [ὡς] οι προφηται Ιεζεκιηλ, και Ησαϊας, και οι αλλοι ὁμολογουσιν. Ego autem, et si qui rectæ per omnia sententiæ Christiani sunt, et carnis resurrectionem futuram novimus, et mille annos in Hierusalem instaurata, et exornata, et dilatata, sicut prophetæ, Ezechiel, et Isaias, et alii promulgant. [Translated in the text.] Και επειδη και παρ' ημιν ανηρ τις, ᾧ ονομα Ιωαννης, εἱς των αποστολων του Χριστου, εν αποκαλυψει γενομενη αὐτῳ χιλια ἑτη πεσησειν εν Ιερουσαλημ του τῳ ἡμετερῳ Χριστῳ πεπιστευκοτας προεφητευσε, και μετα ταυτα την καθολικην και, συνελοντι φαναι, αιωνιαν ὁμου πασων ἁμα ανθρωπων αναστασιν γενησεσθαι και κρισιν. Et vir apud nos quidam, cui nomen erat Joannes, e duodecim apostolis Christi unus, in ea quæ illi exhibita est revelatione Christi fideles nostri annos mille Hierosolymis peracturos esse prælocutus est, et posfea universalem et (ut semel dicam) sempiternam omnium unanimiter simul resurrectionem et judicium futurum. [Translated in the text.] Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryphone Pars Secunda, p. 307 et 308. Edit. Paris. p. 313 et 315. Edit. Thirlbi.

"larged and beautified in a wonderful manner for their "reception in the enjoyment of all sensual pleasures, "for a thousand years before the general resurrection." But in the original there is no such clause as that, *in the enjoyment of all sensual pleasures;* it is an addition and interpolation of the Doctor's own, in order to depreciate the venerable father: and he could not possibly have made it by mistake, he must have done it designedly, for he has cited the original as far as to that clause, and there stopping short has concealed the rest with an &c. If he had fairly cited the whole sentence (as I have done above,) he was sensible that every scholar must have detected the imposition. It is seriously to be lamented, that so learned and ingenious a man, and so very fine a writer as Dr. Middleton was, should in support of any argument have been guilty of so many false quotations as he has been, more than any author I know. Forgery should be deemed a capital offense in litterary as well as in civil affairs. It has been the fate of Justin to have his sense misrepresented by others as well as by Dr. Middleton. For he has been made to say that the doctrin of the millennium had not, even in his time, obtained universal reception, but that *many Christians of pure and pious principles rejected it,* it should have been said, *did not acknowlege it,* τυτο μη γνωριζειν. But Justin could not so palpably contradict himself. The whole context evidently demonstrates, that we should read, with Mede and Tillotson, the passage with a negative, ε της καθαρας και ευσεβυς that *many* not *of pure and pious principles did not acknowlege it. For some,* says he, *are called Christians, but are atheistical and ungodly hereticks,* τυς γαρ λεγομενυς μεν χοισιανυς, οντας δε αθευς και ασεβεις αιρεσιωλας. A manifest proof that they were men *not of pure and godly principles.* A little after he subjoins, that *some are called Christians, and do not confess this, and deny the resurrection of the dead;* τισι λεγομενοις χριστιανοις, και τυτο μη ὁμολογυσιν, και λεγυσι μη ειναι νεκρων αναςασιν. And then after all follows what was cited before. 'But I, and as many as are ortho-'dox Christians in all respects, do acknowlege that there 'shall be a resurrection of the flesh and a thousand years in

'Jerusalem, &c.' He thought the doctrin of the millennium of such consequence that he has joined it all along with that of the resurrection of the dead. It is evident therefore that he never meant to say, that they who rejected this doctrin were Christians *of pure and pious principles*, but the contrary. Tertullian at the beginning of the third century (5) professeth his belief of the kingdom promised to the saints upon earth, of their resurrection for a thousand years, of their living in the new Jerusalem, and therein enjoying all spiritual delights, and of the destruction of the world and the general judgment after the thousand years: and his books *of Paradise and of the Hope of the Faithful*, if they had not been lost or suppressed, might have afforded ampler proofs of all these particulars. Lactantius at the beginning of the fourth century (6) is very copious upon this subject in the seventh book of his Divine Institutions. He saith, 'Because all the works of God were 'finished in six days, it is necessary that the world should 'remain in this state six ages, that is six thousand years.' And again, 'because having finished the works he rested 'on the seventh day, and blessed it; it is necessary that 'at the end of the sixth thousandth year all wickedness 'should be abolished out of the earth, and justice should 'reign for a thousand years.' He saith, 'When the Son 'of God shall have destroyed injustice, and shall have re-

(5) Nam et confitemur in terra nobis regnum repromissum, &c. ['For we also profess our belief of a kingdom upon earth which has been promised to us,' &c.] Tertull. advers. Marcion. Lib. 3. Cap. 24. Edit. Rigaltii. Paris. 1675.

(6) Quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt; per sæcula sex, id est annorum sex millia manere hoc statu mundum necesse est.—Et rursus, quoniam perfectis operibus requievit die septimo, eumque benedixit; necesse est, ut in fine sexti millesimi anni malitia omnis aboleatur è terra, et regnet per annos mille justitia. [Translated in the text.] Cap. 14. Verum ille, cum deleverit injustitiam,—ac justos, qui a principio fuerunt, ad vitam restauraverit, mille annis inter homines versabitur, eosque justissimo imperio reget.—Sub idem tempus etiam princeps dæmonum—catenis vincietur, et erit in custodia mille annis cœlestis imperii, quo justitia in orbe regnabit, ne quod malum adversus populum Dei moliatur. Translated in the text.] Cap. 24. Sed idem, cum mille anni regni, hoc est septem millia cæperint terminari; solvetur denuo, &c. Cum vero completi fuerint mille anni,—fiet, secunda illa, et publica omnium resurrectio, in qua excitabuntur injusti ad cruciatus sempiternos.—Hæc est doctrina sanctorum prophetarum, quam Christiani sequimur; hæc nostra sapientia. [Translated in the text.] Cap. 26.

'stored the just to life, he shall be conversant among men 'a thousand years, and shall rule them with most just 'government. At the same time the prince of devils 'shall be bound with chains, and shall be in custody the 'thousand years of the heavenly kingdom, while justice 'shall reign in the world, lest he should attempt any 'evil against the people of God.' He saith, 'When 'the thousand years of the kingdom, that is seven thou-'sand years shall draw towards a conclusion, Satan shall 'be loosed again: and when the thousand years shall be 'completed, then shall be that second and public re-'surrection of all, wherein the unjust shall be raised 'to everlasting torments.' And having inlarged upon these topics he concludes, 'This is the doctrin of the 'holy prophets which we Christians follow; this is our 'wisdom.' In short, the doctrin of the millennium was generally believed in the three first and purest ages; and this belief, as the (7) learned Dodwell hath justly observed, was one principal cause of the fortitude of the primitive Christians; they even coveted martyrdom, in hopes of being partakers of the privileges and glories of the martyrs in the first resurrection.

Afterwards the doctrin grew into disrepute for various reasons. Some both Jewish and Christian writers have debased it with a mixture of fables; they have described the kingdom more like a sensual than a spiritual kingdom, and thereby they have not only exposed themselves, but (what is infinitely worse) the doctrin itself to contempt and ridicule. It hath suffered by the misrepresentations of its enemies, as well as by the indiscre-

(7) Jam in millennii regno primam fore resurrectionem corporum crediderunt primævi Christiani. Et ut justorum propriam eam crediderunt resurrectionem, ita martyrum in ea portionem longe esse præcipuam.—Hæc cum ita crederentur, dici nequit quantum martyres illius ætatis martyrii studio inflammarint. ['The primitive Christians believed, that the first resurrection of their bodies would be in the kingdom of the Millennium. And as they believed that that resurrection would be peculiar to the righteous, so they believed that such as were martyrs would have the principal share in it. Since these things were thus believed, it is impossible to describe the influence it had upon the confessors of that age to covet martyrdom.'] Dodwelli Dissert. Cyprian. xii. De Martyrum fortitudine. Sect. 20, 21.

tions of its friends; many, like (8) Jerome, have charged the millennarians with absurd and impious opinions which they never held; and rather than they would admit the truth of the doctrin, they have not scrupled to call in question the genuinness of the book of the Revelation. It hath been abused even to worse purposes; it hath been made an engine of faction; and turbulent fanatics, under the pretence of saints, have aspired to dominion, and disturbed the peace of civil society. Besides wherever the influence and authority of the church of Rome have extended, she hath endevored by all means to discredit this doctrin; and indeed not without sufficient reason, this kingdom of Christ being founded on the ruins of the kingdom of Antichrist. No wonder therefore that this doctrin lay depressed for many ages, but it sprang up again at the Reformation, and will florish together with the study of the Revelation. All the danger is, on one side, of pruning and lopping it too short, and on the other, of suffering it to grow too wild and luxuriant. Great caution, soberness, and judgment are required to keep the middle course. We should neither with some interpret it into an allegory, nor depart from the litteral sense of scripture without absolute necessity for so doing. Neither should we with others indulge an extravagant fancy, nor explain too curiously the manner and circumstances of this future state. It is safest and best faithfully to adhere to the words of scripture, or to fair deductions from scripture; and to rest contented with the general account, till time shall accomplish and eclaircise all the particulars.

7 And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison.

8 And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle; the number of whom *is* as the sand of the sea.

(8) See Mede's Works, B. 5. Chap. 5. D. Hieronymi Pronunciata de Dogmate millennariorum, p. 897.

9 And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven and devoured them.

10 And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet *are*, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

At the expiration of the thousand years (ver. 7—10.) the restraint shall be taken off from wickedness, and for *a little season* as was said before, (ver. 3.) *Satan shall be loosed out of his prison*, and make one effort more to re-establish his kingdom. As he deceived our first parents in the paradisiacal state, so he shall have the artifice *to deceive the nations* in this millennial kingdom, to show that no state or condition upon earth is exempted and secured from sinning. The nations, whom he shall deceive, are described as living in the remotest parts of the world; *in the four quarters of the earth*, εν ταις τεσσαρσι γωνιαις της γης, *in the four angles* or *corners of the earth*; and they are distinguished by the name of *Gog and Magog*, and are said to be as numerous *as the sand of the sea*. *Gog and Magog* seem to have been formerly the general name of the northern nations of Europe and Asia, as *the Scythians* have been since, and *the Tartars* are at present. In Ezekiel there is a famous prophecy concerning *Gog and Magog*, and this prophecy alludes to that in many particulars. Both that of Ezekiel and this of St. John remain yet to be fulfilled; and therefore we cannot be absolutely certain that they may not both relate to the same event, but it appears more probable that they relate to different events. The one is expected to take effect before, but the other will not take effect till after, the millennium. *Gog and Magog* in Ezekiel are said expresly (xxxviii. 6. 15. xxxix. 2.) to come from *the north quarters* and *the north parts*, but in St. John they come from *the four quarters* or *corners of the earth*. *Gog and Magog* in Ezekiel bend their forces against the Jews resettled in

their own land, but in St. John they march up against *the saints* and church of God in general. *Gog and Magog* in Ezekiel are with very good reason supposed to be the Turks; but the Turks are the authors of *the second woe*, and *the second woe* (xi. 14.) *is past* before *the third woe*, and *the third woe* long precedes the time here treated of. Ezekiel's prophecy apparently coincides with the latter part of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, and presignifies the destruction of the Othman empire, which includes *Gomer* and many European, as well as *Ethiopia*, *Lybia*, and other nations. If *Gog and Magog* in St. John are the same with those in Ezekiel, then we must suppose the Othman empire to subsist throughout the millennium, which can hardly be believed, as it can hardly be reconciled with other prophecies. It may therefore be concluded that *Gog and Magog* as well as *Sodom*, and *Egypt*, and *Babylon* are mystic names in this book, and the last enemies of the Christian church are so denominated, because *Gog and Magog* appear to be the last enemies of the Jewish nation. Who they shall be, we cannot pretend to say with any the least degree of certainty. It is a strange whimsical absurd paradox of (9) Dr. Burnet, but his hypothesis betrayed him into it, that they shall be "sons of the earth, generated "from the slime of the ground and the heat of the sun, "as brute creatures were at first." Mr. Mede's (1) conjecture is much more rational, that they shall be the nations of America, the nations of America being in all probability colonies or descendents from the Scythians, that is from *Gog and Magog*. Whoever they shall be they shall come up from the *four corners of the earth on the breadth of the earth*, and shall *compass the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city*, the new Jerusalem with the saints incamped around it, as the Israelites incamped around the tabernacle in the wilderness. But they shall not succeed and prosper in their attempts; they shall not be able to hurt the church and city of God, but shall

(9) Burnet's Theory. B. 4. Chap. 10.

(1) De Gogo et Magogo in Apocalypsi Conjectura, in Mede's Works. B. 3. p. 574. Fulleri Miscell. Sacra. Lib. 2. Cap. 4. in fine.

be destroyed, in an extraordinary manner, by *fire from heaven*: and *the devil* himself, the promoter and leader of this new apostasy and rebellion against God and his Christ, shall not only be confined as before, but shall be *cast into the lake of fire and brimstone*, where he shall be punished together with *the beast and the false prophet* who were cast in before him, *and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.*

11 And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them.

12 And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is *the book* of life; and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.

13 And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.

14 And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire. This is the second death.

15 And whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire.

After this last conflict and the final defeat of Satan, there follows (ver. 11—15.) the general resurrection and judgment, represented in a vision of *a great white throne, great* to show the largeness and extent, *white* to show the justice and equity of the judgment, and *one sitting on it*, who can be none other than the Son of God, for (John v. 22.) *the Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son; from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them*, so that this is properly *the end of the world. The dead*, both *small* and *great*, of all ranks and degrees, as well those who perished at sea and were buried in the waters,

as those who died at land, and were buried in graves, are all raised, and stand before the judgment-seat of God, where *they are judged every man according to their works*, as exactly as if all their actions had been recorded in books. They who are found not worthy to be inrolled in the registers of heaven are *cast into the lake of fire;* whither also were cast *death and hell* or *the grave*, who are here personified, as they are likewise in other places of holy scripture. It may seem strange that *death* should be *cast into the lake of fire which is the second death;* but the meaning is that *temporal death*, which hitherto had exercised dominion over the race of men, shall be totally abolished, and with respect to the wicked be converted into *eternal death*. *Then*, as St. Paul saith, (1 Cor. xv. 54, 26.) *shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory:* for *the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.*

CHAP. XXI.

1 AND I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.

2 And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

3 And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold the tabernacle of God *is* with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, *and* be their God.

4 And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.

5 And he that sat upon the throne, said, Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful.

6 And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end: I will give unto him that is athirst, of the fountain of the water of life freely.

7 He that overcometh shall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my son.

8 But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.

A new heaven and a new earth (ver. 1.) succeeded in the room of *the first heaven and the first earth,* which *passed away* (xx. 11.) at the general judgment. In the new earth there is this remarkable property, that *there is no more sea,* which whether it shall be effected by the means which (2) the theorists of the earth have prescribed or by any other, time must discover: but it is evident from hence, that this new heaven and earth are not designed to take place till after the general judgment, for at the general judgment (xx. 13.) *the sea gave up the dead which were in it.* Many understand the expression figuratively, that there shall be *no troubles* or *commotions* in this new world. In this new world too *the new Jerusalem* appears (ver. 2,) in full glory and splendor. It is described as *coming down from God out of heaven:* it is a city whose builder and maker is God; and is *adorned as the bride for the Lamb,* the true church of Christ: and the new Jerusalem, the true church of Christ, subsists as well during the millennium kingdom as after it. At the commencement of the millennium it was said (xix. 7.) *The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.* At the conclusion of the millennium Gog and Magog went up (xx. 9.) against *the beloved city:* and here it is represented as the metropolis of the new heaven and the new earth. The new Jerusalem shall be the habitation of the saints of

(2) Burnet's Theory, B. 4. Chap. 2. Whiston's Theory. B. 4. Chap. 5.

the first resurrection, and it shall also be the habitation of the saints of the general resurrection. The church of Christ shall endure through all times and changes in this world, and likewise in the world to come; it shall be glorious upon earth during the millennium, and shall be more glorious still in the new earth after the millennium to all eternity. Earth shall then become as heaven, or rather it shall be a heaven upon earth, (ver. 3.) God dwelling visibly among men: and (ver. 4.) *there shall be no more death,* which cannot come to pass, till death shall be totally abolished (xx. 14.) by being *cast into the lake of fire,* and till *the former things,* the first heaven and the first earth, *are past away.* He *who sat upon the throne* as judge of the world (xx. 11.) declares (ver. 5.) *Behold, I make all things new:* He is the author of this second, as well as of the first creation, and he commands these things to be *written* for the edification and consolation of his church with a firm assurance of their truth and certainty. He pronounces this period (ver. 6, 7, 8.) to be *the consummation* of all things, when the promises of God, and the desires of his faithful servants shall all be fully accomplished, the righteous *shall inherit all things,* but the profligate and immoral *shall have their portion in the lake of fire and brimstone;* which, is a farther demonstration, that these things cannot take effect till after the general judgment.

Many, I know, both ancients and moderns, make the millennium synchronize with the new heaven and the new earth; and some latitude of interpretation may be well allowed in these mysterious points of futurity; but this order of things, and this interpretation of the words, appear to me most natural, and most agreeable to the context. Gog and Magog, the nations in the four corners of the earth, are deceived by Satan after the expiration of the millenium; but Gog and Magog are not inhabiters of the new heaven and the new earth. It is not our business to frame theories and invent hypotheses, but faithfully to follow the word of God as our surest guide, without regarding much the authority of men. Not but various authorities might be cited to

show that this is no novel opinion. As St. Barnabas (3) says, 'When the Lord shall make all things new, 'then shall be the beginning of the eighth day, which 'is the beginning of another world:' allowing six thousand years to the duration of this world, the seventh thousand to the millenium, and the eighth thousand to the beginning of a blessed eternity; and you may find many more testimonies alleged to this purpose in the notes of Cotelerius and other critics upon this passage of St. Barnabas. Lactantius (4) affirms, that 'when the 'thousand years shall be completed, the world shall 'be renewed by God, and the heavens shall be folded 'up, and the earth shall be changed; and God shall 'transform men into the similitude of angels; and 'they shall be white as snow, and shall be always conversant in the sight of the Almighty, and shall sacrifice to their Lord; and serve him for ever.' St. Austin also (5) declares, that 'the judgment being finished, 'then this heaven and this earth shall cease to be, when 'the new heaven and the new earth shall begin to be. 'For by a mutation of things this world will pass away, 'not by an utter extinction. Whence also the apostle 'says (1 Cor. vii. 31.) *that the fashion of this world 'passeth away.*' And indeed why should the new heaven and the new earth be destroyed, when there shall be no more sin, when *there shall be no more curse*, when *there shall be no more death? The heaven and the earth of old* (2 Pet. iii. 5.) for the wickedness of man *perished by water: the heaven and the earth which are now, are*

(3) γεγονοτων δε πασων απαλλων υπο κυριου——αρχην ημερας ογδοης, ὁ εστιν αλλου κοσμου αρχη. Novatis vero cunctis a Domino——octavi diei initium, hoc est initium alterius mundi. [Translated in the text.] Sancti Barnab. Epist. Cap. 15. Vide etiam Notas Cotelerii, &c.

(4) Cum vero completi fuerint mille anni, renovabitur mundus a Deo, et cœlum complicabitur, et terra mutabitur; et transformabit Deus homines in similitudinem angelorum; et erunt candidi, sicut nix: et versabuntur semper in conspectu omnipotentis, et domino suo sacrificabunt, et servient in æternum. [Translated in the text.] Lactant. Lib. 7. Cap. 26.

(5) Peracto quippe judicio tunc esse desinet hoc cœlum et hæc terra, quando incipiet esse cœlum novum et terra nova. Mutatione namque rerum, non omni modo interitu transibit hic mundus. Unde ut Apostolus ait; *Præterit enim figura hujus mundi.* [Translated in the text.] S. August. de Civitate Dei. Lib. 19. Cap. 14. p. 447. Tom. 7. Edit. Benedict. Antwerp.

reserved unto fire against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men; but why should not *the new heaven and the new earth* be preserved, *wherein dwelleth righteousness?*

9 And there came unto me one of the seven angels, which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife.

10 And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God,

11 Having the glory of God: and her light *was* like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper-stone, clear as crystal;

12 And had a wall great and high, *and* had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are *the names* of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel.

13 On the east, three gates; on the north, three gates; on the south, three gates; and on the west, three gates.

14 And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

15 And he that talked with me, had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

16 And the city lieth four square, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs: the length, and the breadth, and the highth of it are equal.

17 And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred *and* forty *and* four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel.

18 And the building of the wall of it was of jasper; and the city *was* pure gold, like unto clear glass.

19 And the foundations of the wall of the city *were* garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation *was* jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald;

20 The fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolyth; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinct; the twelfth, an amethyst.

21 And the twelve gates *were* twelve pearls; every several gate was of one pearl: and the street of the city *was* pure gold, as it were transparent glass.

22 And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple of it.

23 And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb *is* the light thereof.

24 And the nations of them which are saved, shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.

25 And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there.

26 And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it.

27 And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither *whatsoever* worketh abomination, or *maketh* a lie; but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

A more particular description is afterwards given of the new Jerusalem. *One of the seven angels who had the seven vials*, (ver. 9.) and most probably the same angel, who before had showed to St. John (xvii. 1, &c.) the mystic Babylon and her destruction, now showeth by way of contrast the new Jerusalem and her glory. For this purpose (ver. 10.) *he carrieth him away in the spirit to a great and high mountain;* in the same manner as

Ezekiel (xl. 2.) *was brought in the visions of God, and set upon a very high mountain,* to see the frame of the city and temple: and this description of the new Jerusalem is an assemblage of the sublimest richest imagery of Ezekiel and other ancient prophets. *The glory of God,* or the divine Shechinah, (ver. 11.) illuminates the city. It hath (ver. 12, 13, 14.) *a wall great and high,* to show its strength and security; *and twelve gates* with *angels* for guards, *three on the east, three on the north, three on the south, and three on the west,* to show that people of all climates and nations may have access to it. On *the twelve gates* are written *the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel,* as on *the twelve foundations* are inscribed *the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb,* to signify that the Jewish and the Christian church are now united, and (Eph. ii. 20.) *built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.* The angel hath (ver. 15, 16, 17.) a measuring reed, as the angel had likewise in Ezekiel; (xl. 3.) and the measures of the city and of the walls are formed by the multiplication of *twelve,* the number of the apostles. *The city lieth four-square, the length as large as the breadth,* according to the pattern of Jerusalem in Ezekiel; (xlviii. 16.) and *the length and breadth and highth* of the walls and buildings are every where of the same beauty, strength, and proportion. It is *built and garnished with gold and all manner of precious stones,* (ver. 18—21.) as the richest emblems of eastern wealth and magnificence; the stones resembling those on Aaron's breast-plate, to denote that the *Urim* and *Thummim,* the *light* and *perfection* of God's oracle are there. It hath one remarkable peculiarity (ver. 22.) that there is *no temple therein;* for the whole is the temple of God and of the Lamb. *The glory of God and the Lamb* (ver. 23.) *shine in it* with a lustre superior to the sun and moon. All they *who are saved* (ver. 24—27.) *walk* continually *in the light of it;* for *the gates are never shut,* and *no night is there.* It is the center of *glory and honor;* all the wicked are excluded, and only good

Christians are admitted, *they who are written in the Lamb's book of life.*

CHAP. XXII.

1 AND he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb.

2 In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, *was there* the tree of life, which bare twelve *manner of* fruits, *and* yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the trees *were* for the healing of the nations.

3 And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him.

4 And they shall see his face; and his name *shall be* in their foreheads.

5 And there shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever.

The five first verses of this chapter are a continuation of the description of the new Jerusalem. It is farther described with *the river of life* and *the tree of life,* as if paradise was restored and improved. *A river flowing through the midst of the streets,* and *trees growing on either side of the river,* are wonderfully pleasing and agreeable objects, especially in the hot eastern countries. Of the fruits there is such plenty and abundance, that all may freely partake of them at all seasons; and the very *leaves are for the healing of the nations;* by all which is signified the blessedness of immortality without any infirmities. Then too *there shall be no more curse,* as there is in this present world ever since the fall of man: but the blessed inhabitants shall enjoy the so much talked of *beatific vision,* shall live in the light of God's countenance, and *serve him,* and *reign for ever and ever.*

6 And he said unto me, These sayings *are* faithful and true. And the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which must shortly be done.

7 Behold, I come quickly: blessed *is* he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.

In the conclusion the angel (ver. 6, 7.) ratifies and confirms all these particulars by a repetition of the same solemn assurance which he had before given, (xix. 9. xx. 5.) that *these sayings are faithful and true:* and he was commissioned by the same God, who had inspired the ancient prophets, *to show the things which must shortly be done*, which would very soon begin in part to be fulfilled, and in process of time would all be completed. *Behold, I come quickly*, saith he; for we may observe that the angel speaketh sometimes in his own person, and sometimes in the person and character of Christ, whose embassador and representative he was. Christ is said to *come* upon any notable and illustrious manifestation of his providence; and all these are but so many steps to prepare the way for his last coming to judgment. A blessing too is pronounced, as in the beginning, (i. 3.) upon those who *keep the sayings of the prophecy of this book*: and as good Vitringa (6) devoutly wisheth, May the Lord bestow this grace and favor on us, who have employed some time and pains in the study and explication of this *book*, that some part of this *blessing* also may descend to us!

8 And I John saw these things, and heard *them*. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel, which showed me these things.

9 Then saith he unto me, See *thou do it* not: for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the

(6) Præstet nobis hanc gratiam Dominus, qui operam aliquam in illius meditatione collocavimus, et aliqua etiam nobis hujus *beatitatis* pars obtingat. [Translated in the text.] Vitring. p. 903.

prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God.

10 And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand.

11 He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still.

12 And behold, I come quickly; and my reward *is* with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.

13 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

14 Blessed *are* they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

15 For without *are* dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

16 I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, *and* the bright and morning star.

17 And the spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst, Come: And whosoever will, let him take the water of the life freely.

18 For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book:

19 And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and *from* the things which are written in this book.

20 He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, Come, Lord Jesus.

21 The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ *be* with you all. Amen.

St. John (ver. 8, 9.) testifieth himself to be the person who *saw and heard these things:* and in his extasy falling into the same mistake that he had committed before, (xix. 10.) he is gently corrected in the same manner by the angel: Who ordereth him (ver. 10.) *not to seal up this prophecy,* as Daniel's was, (xii. 4, 9.) *for the time is at hand,* some of the particulars would very soon be accomplished, as indeed all would in their due season and order: Which he farther inforceth (ver. 11—15.) with promises and threatnings, of rewards to the righteous, and of vengeance on the wicked. It was not thought sufficient to represent the angel speaking in the person of Christ, but Christ himself also is introduced (ver. 16.) speaking in his own person, and confirming the divine authority of this book, and attesting it to be properly his revelation. *The spirit and the bride,* (ver. 17.) that is, *the spiritual bride,* the true church of Christ, therefore receives it, and ardently wisheth and prayeth for its completion. The book being of this importance and authority, a solemn adjuration is added by Christ himself, that no man presume to add any thing to it, or take away any thing from it, (ver. 18, 19.) *For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book; And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book:* Which ought to be seriously considered by all visionaries and enthusiasts on the one hand, who boast their own inventions as divine revelations; and by all sceptics and infidels on the other, who depreciate the value and authority of these predictions. *He who testifieth these things, saith, Surely, I come quickly;* (ver. 20.) he not only attesteth them to be true, but will also come speedily to accomplish them: to which St. John answers, and in him

the whole church, *Amen, Even so. Come, Lord Jesus.* He closeth all with the usual apostolical benediction (ver. 21.) wishing *the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ* to the churches of Asia in particular, and to all Christians in general. The conclusion is truly excellent, as well as all other parts of this book: and nothing could be contrived to leave these things with a stronger impression upon the mind of the readers. In the whole, from first to last, appears the majesty of the divine revealer, *the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the author and finisher* of every good work, and of this more especially.

This, as (Sir Isaac Newton (7) hath hinted; and as Dr. Warburton hath fully proved in some discourses, which it is hoped will be printed at one time or other for the benefit of the public,) is that *sure word of prophecy, whereunto* Christians, as St. Peter saith, *do well to take heed* and attend. St. Peter (2 Pet. i. 16, &c.) is asserting and establishing the truth of Christ's second coming in power and great glory. *For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his majesty.* One illustrious proof of his coming in power and glory was his appearing in glory and majesty at his transfiguration. (ver. 17, 18.) *For he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount.* His appearing once in power and great glory is a good argument, that he may appear again in like manner; and that he not only may, but will, we have the farther assurance of prophecy, (ver. 19.) *We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day*

(7) Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. upon the Apoc. Cap. 1. p. 240. The Bishop has since published a discourse upon this subject in the third volume of his sermons; but his second lecturer, (Dr. Hallifax) contradicts him herein, and maintains the Revelation to be written after the death of St. Peter in the reign of Domitian.

dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts. St. Peter might mean the prophecies in general which treat of the second coming of Christ, but it appears that the Revelation was principally in his thoughts and intentions. Christ's second coming in power and glory is one principal topic of the Revelation. With this it begins, (i. 7.) *Behold, he cometh with clouds: and every eye shall see him.* With this it also concludes, (xxii. 20.) *He who testifieth these things, saith, Surely I come quickly.* Nothing can better answer the character of the Revelation, especially in St. Peter's time when as yet scarce any part of it was fulfilled, than *a light shining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.* It openeth more and more like the dawning of the day; and the more it is fulfilled, the better it is understood. Afterwards St. Peter proceeds, in the second chapter, to describe, out of this *sure word of prophecy*, the false prophets and false teachers, who should infest the church; and in the third chapter, the certainty of Christ's coming to judgment, the conflagration of the present heavens and earth, and the structure of the new heavens and earth; and all agreeably to the Revelation. Attention therefore to this book is recommended to us, upon the authority of St. Peter as well as of the writer St. John; and a double blessing, as we have seen in the book itself, is pronounced upon those who shall study and observe it; first in the beginning, (i. 3.) *Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein;* and here again in the end, (xxii. 7.) *Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.* Emboldened by which blessing, I would humbly pray with Nehemiah, (Nehem. xiii. 22.) *Remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me, according to the greatness of thy mercy.*

XXVI.

RECAPITULATION OF THE PROPHECIES RELATING TO POPERY.

UPON the whole it appears that the prophecies relating to Popery are the greatest, the most essential, and the most striking part of the Revelation. Whatever difficulty and perplexity there may be in other passages, yet here the application is obvious and easy. Popery being the great corruption of Christianity, there are indeed more prophecies relating to that than to almost any other distant event. It is a great object of Daniel's, and the principal object of St. Paul's, as well as of St. John's prophecies; and these, considered and compared together, will mutually receive and reflect light from and upon each other. It will appear to be clearly foretold, that such a power as that of the pope should be exercised in the Christian church, and should authorize and establish such doctrins and practices, as are publicly taught and approved in the church of Rome. It is not only foretold that such a power should be exercised, but the place and persons likewise are pointed out, where and by whom it should be exercised. Besides the place and the persons, the time also is signified when it should prevail, and how long it should prevail; and at last upon the expiration of this term it shall be destroyed for evermore. It is thought proper to represent the prophecies relating to popery in one view, that, like the rays of the sun collected in a glass, they may appear with the greater lustre, and have the stronger effect.

I. I say, the Spirit of prophecy hath signified beforehand, that there should be such a power as that of the pope and church of Rome usurped in the Christian world: and these predictions are so plain and express, that, was not the contrary evident and undeniable, they might seem to be penned after the event, and to describe things past rather than to foretel things to come. For

instance. Hath there now for many ages subsisted, and doth there still subsist a tyrannical, and idolatrous, and blasphemous power, in prefence Christian, but in reality Antichristian? It is the very same power that is portrayed in *the little horn* and *the blasphemous king* by Daniel, *in the man of sin the son of perdition* by St. Paul, and *in the ten-horned beast* and *the two-horned beast* or *the false prophet* by St. John.—Hath the church apostatized or departed greatly from the purity of Christian faith and worship? It is the very same thing that St. Paul hath foretold, (2 Thess. ii. 3.) *The day of the Lord shall not come, except there come a falling away* or the apostasy *first:* and he saith moreover in another place, (1 Tim. iv. 1.) that the spirit of prophecy (meaning Daniel) had in express words testified the same thing before: *Now the Spirit speaketh expresly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith,* or rather *apostatize from the faith:* and St. John foresaw the church so far degenerated as to become (Rev. xvii. 5.) *the mother of harlots* or whoredoms, *and abominations of the earth.*—Doth this apostasy consist chiefly in the worshipping of *demons,* angels and departed saints, and in honoring them with costly shrines and rich offerings, instead of the worship of *the one true God* thro' *the one true mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus?* Nothing can better agree with the prophecy of St. Paul, (1 Tim. iv. 1.) *Some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrins concerning demons;* and with the prophecy of Daniel, that the blasphemous king (xi. 38.) *in his estate shall honour Mahuzzim,* Gods-protectors or saints-protectors, *and a god whom his fathers knew not, shall he honor with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.*—Is the same church, that is guilty of this idolatry, notorious also for injoining celibacy to her clergy, and engaging her nuns to enter into vows of leading a single life? doth she make a vain distinction of meats, and command and institute certain times and days of fasting, wherein to taste flesh is judged a mortal sin? Nothing can more fully accomplish the prediction of Daniel,

(xi. 37.) that the blasphemous king, who shall worship Mahuzzim, shall also *not regard the desire of wives;* and the prediction of St. Paul, (1 Tim. iv. 3.) that those who apostatize from the faith by worshipping of demons, shall no less distinguish themselves *by forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them who believe and know the truth.*—Doth not the pope make himself equal and even superior to God, in affecting divine titles, attributes, and honors; in assuming a power of dispensing with the immutable laws of nature and the gospel; in substituting for the commandments of God the traditions of men; in treading upon the altar of God at his inauguration, and making the table of the Lord his footstool, and in that posture receiving the adoration of his cardinals? It is foretold by Daniel, (vii. 25.) that the little horn *shall speak great words against the most High, and think to change times and laws; and* (xi. 36.) *the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and speak marvellous things against the God of gods;* and in like manner by St. Paul, (2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.) *The man of sin shall be revealed, the son of perdition; Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.*—Have the bishops of Rome extended their authority and jurisdiction over several countries and nations? have they usurped a supremacy over all other bishops? have they partly by menaces, and partly by flatteries, obtained an entire ascendency over Christian princes; so as to have them zealous members of their communion, blindly devoted to their interests, and ready upon all occasions to fight their battles? It is nothing more than what was foretold by the prophets; by Daniel when he said (vii. 20.) that the little horn *had a mouth speaking very great things, and a look more stout than his fellows;* and by St. John when he said (xiii. 7.) that *power was given unto the beast over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations;* and (xvii. 2.) *the*

kings of the earth have committed fornication, or idolatry, with the whore of Babylon; and (xvii. 13.) *have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast.*—Hath the church of Rome inlarged the powers of her clergy both regular and secular, and given them an almost absolute authority over the purses and consciences of men, enriched them with sumptuous buildings and noble endowments, and appropriated the choicest of the lands for church lands? This was plainly intimated by Daniel speaking of the blasphemous king, as the passage should be translated; (xi. 39.) *Thus shall he do; to the defenders of Mahuzzim, together with the strange God whom he shall acknowledge, he shall multiply honor, and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.*—Is the church of Rome distinguished above all churches for purple and scarlet color, by the richness and splendor of her vestments, by the pomp and parade of her ceremonies, inciting and inveigling men with all artifices of ornament and ostentation to join in her communion? This was particularly specified by St. John speaking of the mystic whore of Babylon or the corrupted church, (xvii. 4.) *And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet color, and decked with gold and precious stone and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication.*—Have the bishops and clergy of Rome in all ages been remarkable for their policy? have they scrupled to promote their religion by all manner of lies and pious frauds? have they allowed of equivocation and mental reservation in oaths and promises, and with the appearance of *lambs* in meekness and sanctity, acted like *ravening wolves*, with fury and violence? Daniel hath given the same character of the little horn, (vii. 8.) *Behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things*; and St. Paul of the apostates in the latter times, (1 Tim. iv. 2.) *Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron*; and St. John of the two horned *beast*. (xiii. 11.) *And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.*—Doth the church of

Rome boast of visions and revelations, and make a show of miracles in attestation of her doctrins? do her legends contain as many spurious and pretended wonders, as the scriptures do genuin and real? From St. Paul we learn (2 Thess. ii. 9, 10.) that *the coming* of the man of sin, *is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness;* and from St. John, (xiii. 13, 14.) that the false prophet *doeth great wonders in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do.*—Doth the church of Rome require an implicit obedience, condemn all who will not readily conform as heretics, and excommunicate and exclude them from the civil intercourses of life? So the false prophet in St. John (xiii. 16, 17.) *causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark of the beast.*—Have the Roman pontiffs occasioned the shedding of as much or more Christian blood than the Roman emperors themselves? have they all along maintained their spiritual sovranty by secret plots and inquisitions, by open dragoonings and massacres, and imprisoned, and tortured, and murdered the true worshippers of God, and the faithful servants of Jesus Christ? This particular, as well as all the rest, exactly answers the predictions of the prophets. For it is affirmed of the little horn in Daniel, (vii. 21, 25.) that he *shall make war with the saints, and shall prevail against them; shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High:* and the woman in the Revelation, *Babylon the great, the mother of harlots,* (xvii. 6.) is represented as *drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus,* and (xviii. 24.) *in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.*

Beside these plain and direct prophecies of the corruptions and innovations of the church of Rome, there are several secret glances at them, several oblique intendments and intimations of them.—*Known unto God are all his*

works from the beginning of the world: (Acts xv. 18.) and when the holy Spirit dictated to the ancient prophets the prophecies concerning Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and other tyrannical and corrupt governments, he dictated them in such a manner as plainly evinces that he had a farther view to this last and most tyrannical and corrupt government of all. Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and the rest, are made the types and emblems of Rome; and many of the particulars predicted concerning the former, are more truly and properly applicable to the latter; and several of them have been applied accordingly by St. John. Jeremiah said concerning antient Babylon, (li. 7, 45.) *Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken; the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad: My people, go ye out of the midst of her, and deliver ye every man his soul from the fierce anger of the Lord:* But how much more applicable are these expressions, as St. John hath applied them, to mystic Babylon or Rome? (xvii. 4. xviii. 3, 4.) She hath *a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations: all nations have drunk of the poisonous wine of her fornication: Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.* The prophets themselves might not understand this mystical, and saw perhaps no farther than the litteral meaning; but they *spake as they were moved by the holy Ghost,* (2 Pet. i. 21.) who comprehends all events, the most remote as well as the most immediate.—But the intimations of popery, which I particularly meant, are more frequent and more obvious in the New Testament. Why was our blessed Saviour so very cautious in giving honor to the Virgin Mary, that he seemed to regard her less than the least of his disciples? (Matt. xii. 48.) *Who is my mother?* (John ii. 4.) *Woman; what have I to do with thee?* (Luke xi. 27, 28.) *Blessed is the womb that bare thee; Yea, rather blessed are they who hear the word of God, and keep it.* Why did he rebuke St. Peter more severely than any other of the apostles, (Matt. xvi. 23.) *Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offense unto me, for thou savorest*

not the things that be of God, but those that be of men; and especially just after giving him that high encomium (ver. 18.) *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church?* May we not reasonably presume that he spake and acted thus, as foreseeing that divine worship which would idolatrously be paid to the one, that supremacy which would be tyrannically arrogated to the other, and which that very encomium would impertinently be brought to countenance?—How came it to pass that our Saviour in instituting his holy supper (Matt. xxvi. 26, 27.) said of the bread only, *Take eat,* but of the cup more particularly, *Drink ye all of it?* May we not probably suppose that it was designed to prevent or obviate their sacrilege, who would have *all* indeed eat of the bread, but *priests only* drink of the cup? Why were the vices of the scribes and pharisees left so particularly upon record, if not chiefly for the correction and reproof of their natural issue and descendents, the clergy of the church of Rome? Read the whole 23d Chapter of St. Matthew, and you will find that there is not a single woe denounced against the former, but as properly belongs, and is as strictly applicable to the latter. *Binding heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and laying them on men's shoulders; doing all their works for to be seen of men; shutting up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves, neither suffering them who are entering to go in; devouring widows' houses, and for a pretence making long prayers; compassing sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, making him twofold more the child of hell than themselves;* making useless and frivolous distinctions of oaths; observing positive duties, and *omitting the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; making clean the outside, but within being full of extortion and excess; outwardly appearing righteous unto men, but within being full of hypocrisy and iniquity; building the tombs of the prophets, and garnishing the sepulchres of the righteous,* honoring the dead saints, and at the same time persecuting the living; are as strong marks and characters of the one sect as they were of the other. Do not forbidding implicit faith and obedience to men,

(Matt. xxiii. 9.) *Call no man your father upon the earth, for one is your Father which is in heaven:* forbidding the worship of angels, (Col. ii. 18.) *Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels;* forbidding all pretences to works of merit and supererogation; (Luke xvii. 10.) *When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do;* forbidding the clergy to lord it over God's heritage, (1 Pet. iv. 3.) *Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock;* forbidding the service of God in an unknown tongue, as St. Paul hath done at large in the 14th Chap. of his first Epist. to the Corinthians: Do not all these and such like prohibitions, I say, necessarily suppose and imply, that one time or other these particular errors and abuses would creep into the church? and in what church they are publicly taught and practised, no man can be insensible. Such texts of scripture are as much *predictions* that these things *would be*, as they are *arguments* that they *should not be*. For laws divine and human are not leveled against chimerical and mere imaginary vices, such as never are, never will be brought into practice; but are enacted by reason of those enormities, which men either have committed or are likely to commit, and which the lawgivers wisely foreseeing are therefore willing to prevent. Why doth St. Paul admonish the Romans particularly to beware of apostasy? (Rom. xi. 20, 22.) *Be not high-minded but fear;—otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.* Surely this is a strange way of addressing the Romans, if the church of Rome was designed to be the infallible judge of controversies, the center of unity, and director of all religion.—View the picture that both St. Peter and St. Jude have drawn of false teachers, and consider whom it most resembles in all its features. (2 Pet. ii. 1, &c.) *But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them; And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way*

of truth shall be evil spoken of; And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you, &c. (Jude 4, &c.) *Ungodly men turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God and our Lord Jesus Christ; These filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities; These be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the spirit, &c.*—What St. Paul hath predicted concerning the corruption of the last days, is too much the character of all sects of Christians, but the application more properly belongs to the members of the church of Rome. (2 Tim. iii. 1. &c.) *This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come: For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy; Without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good; Traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; Having a form of godliness but denying the power thereof.*—Such are the direct prophecies, and such the general intimations of popery; and we have the better right to make this application of the general intimations, as the direct prophecies are so plain and particular.

II. It is not only foretold, that such a power as that of the pope and church of Rome should be exercised in the Christian world; but to prevent any mistake in the application of these prophecies, the place and the persons likewise are pointed out, where and by whom it should be exercised. The prophet Daniel (Chap. vii.) hath described *four beasts* or *four kingdoms:* and out of the fourth beast or kingdom, he saith, shall arise *ten horns* or *ten kings* or *kingdoms;* and *among them* or *after them shall come up another little horn; and he shall be divers from the rest;* and he shall have *eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and a look more stout than his fellows: and he shall subdue and pluck up by the roots three of the first horns* or *kings; and shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws.* Daniel's first kingdom

is the Babylonian, the second is the Persian, the third *is* the Macedonian or Grecian, and the fourth can be none other than the Roman; and the Roman empire, upon its dissolution, was divided into *ten kings* or *kingdoms*. It is in the western or Latin empire that these ten kings or kingdoms are to be sought and found: for this was properly the body of the fourth beast, the Greek or eastern empire belonged to the body of the third beast: and out of the western Roman empire, by the incursions of the northern nations, arose *ten kings* or *kingdoms;* of whom having mentioned the names before, we need not repeat them here. Now who is *the little horn* that was to spring up among these or after these; who as a politico-ecclesiastical power *differeth* from the other ten powers; who *hath eyes like the eyes of a man,* that is (1) *a seer,* as Sir Isaac Newton says, επισκοπος or bishop in the litteral sense of the word; who *hath a mouth speaking great things,* bulls and anathemas, interdicts and excommunications; who *hath a look more stout than his fellows,* assuming a supremacy not only over other bishops, but even a superiority over kings and emperors themselves; who *hath pluckt up by the roots three of the first horns,* the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the state of Rome, and is distinguished by *the triple crown;* who *speaketh great words against the most High,* setting up himself above all laws divine as well as human; who *weareth out the saints of the most High,* by wars and massacres, inquisitions and persecutions; who *changeth times and laws,* instituting new religions, and teaching for doctrins the commandments of men; are questions which I think cannot admit of much dispute; there is only one person in the world who can fully answer all these characters.

The blasphemous king described in the 11th Chapter of Daniel, (ver. 36—39.) who *shall do according to his will, and shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be ac-*

(1) Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. 7. p. 75.

complished, who *shall not regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of wives, but in his estate shall honor Mahuzzim. and the defenders of Mahuzzim shall increase with glory, and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain;* is indeed a more general character, comprehending the tyrannical and corrupt power of the eastern church as well as of the western. But when we consider, how much and how far the Latin hath prevailed above the Greek church; how the supremacy, which was first claimed by the patriarch of Constantinople, hath been fully established in the bishop of Rome; how much more absolute the *will* of the Roman pontiff hath been than that of the Byzantine emperor; how the pope hath *exalted himself and magnified himself* as a god upon earth; how much more the Latins have degenerated from the *religion* of their *fathers* than the Greeks; how *the desire of single life* and *the worship of the dead,* which first began in the eastern parts, have been carried to the greatest highth in the western empire; how much the jurisdiction and authority, the lands and revenues of the Roman clergy have exceeded those of the Greeks; how while the Greek church hath lain oppressed for several centuries, the Roman hath still *prospered,* and in all probability still may *prosper till God's indignation* against the Jews *be accomplished;* in short when we consider, how entirely this character agrees with that of *the little horn,* and how much better it agrees with the head of the Roman than with the head of the Greek church, the particular application of it to the bishop of Rome may well be justified, especially since St. Paul himself hath applied it in the same manner.

St. Paul hath drawn *the man of sin, the son of perdition,* (2 Thess. ii.) an exact copy and resemblance of *the little horn* and *the blasphemous king* in Daniel: and this *man of sin* must necessarily be a *Christian,* and not a *Heathen* or *infidel* power, because he is represented as God *sitting in the temple of God.* He is described too as the head of *the apostasy* or *the falling away* from the faith; and this *apostasy* is afterwards (1 Tim. iv. 1.) defined by St. Paul to consist in *worshipping of demons,*

angels and deceased saints: and no man surely can have any reason to doubt, who is the head and leader of this apostasy, the patron and authorizer of this worship. The apostle hath communicated to the Thessalonians, what it was that hindered his appearing, (ver. 5, 6.) *Remember ye not that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time.* What this was the apostle hath no where expresly informed us; but if tradition may be depended upon in any case, it may certainly in this. For it is the constant and current tradition of the fathers, that *what withholdeth is the Roman empire:* and and therefore the primitive Christians in the public offices of the church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire should be broken into pieces, the empire of *the man of sin* would be raised on its ruins. They made no question, they were fully persuaded, that the successor to the Roman emperor in Rome would be *the man of sin:* and who hath succeeded to the Roman emperor in Rome, let the world judge and determin.

St. John too hath copied after Daniel, and (Chap. xiii.) exhibits the Roman empire under the same emblem of *a beast with ten horns.* It is evident that he designed the same as Daniel's fourth or last beast, because he represents him as a composition of the three former, with *the body of a leopard, the feet of a bear, and the mouth of a lion.* He describes him too with the qualities and properties of *the little horn,* speaking the same blasphemies, acting the same cruelties: and having plainly seen what power was intended by the one, we have the less reason to hesitate about the other. But to distinguish him yet more, the number of his name is defined to be *six hundred and sixty six.* It was an ancient practice to denote names by numbers; and this number must be resolvable into some Greek or Hebrew name, to which all the characters here given may agree. It is an early tradition derived from (2) Irenæus, who lived not long

(2) Iren. Lib. 5. Cap. 30. p. 449. Edit. Grabe.

after St. John's time, and was a disciple of a disciple of this apostle, that the number 666 includes the Greek name *Lateinos* or the Latin empire. Or if you prefer a Hebrew name, as St. John hath sometimes made use of Hebrew names, it is no less remarkable that this number comprehends also the Hebrew name *Romiith* or the Roman empire. For more clearness and sureness still, a woman is shown (Chap. xvii.) riding upon this same beast, and her name is *Babylon the great;* but Babylon was destroyed long before, and by Babylon all agree, was meant Rome. The seven heads of the beast are likewise explained to be *seven mountains on which the woman sitteth,* which all the world know to be the situation of Rome. The woman herself is also declared *to be that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth;* and that can be none other than Rome. Indeed the papists themselves allow (for they cannot but allow) all this to be said of Rome, but then they argue and maintain it to be said of Heathen Rome. But that cannot be; because it agrees not with several circumstances of the prophecy, and particularly with the woman's sitting upon the beast with *ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns,* which must needs typify the Roman empire, after it was divided into ten kingdoms, but the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms till some years after it became Christian. St. John with the eyes of prophecy saw this beast *rise up out of the sea,* and the angel in his exposition saith that he *shall ascend out of the bottomless pit;* but Heathen Rome had risen and florished many years before this time. This beast cannot represent Heathen Rome because he is successor to Heathen Rome, to *the great red dragon in his power, and his seat, and great authority.* This beast was to continue and prosper *forty two* prophetic *months,* that is 1260 years; but Heathen Rome did not continue 400 years after this time. The woman is represented *as the mother of idolatry, with her golden cup intoxicating the inhabiters of the earth;* but Heathen Rome ruled more with a rod of iron, and was rather an importer of foreign gods and superstitions than an exporter to other nations. St. John *wondered with great*

admiration, when *he saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus;* but wherefore should he, who had seen and suffered the persecutions under Nero, wonder so much that Heathens should persecute Christians; but that Christians should delight in shedding the blood of Christians, was indeed of all wonders the greatest. The woman rideth upon the beast under *his seventh head* or last form of government; but *the sixth head,* which was the imperial form of government, is said to be subsisting in St. John's time, and *the sixth* was not destroyed, and the *seventh* or last form did not take place, till after Rome was become Christian. The ten kings *with one mind gave their power and strength unto the beast,* and afterwards *hate the whore and make her desolate, and burn her with fire;* but never did any ten kings unanimously and voluntarily submit to Heathen Rome, and afterwards burn her with fire. Rome according to the prophecies is to be *utterly burnt with fire,* and to be made *a desolation for ever and ever:* but Rome hath never yet undergone this fate, and consequently Heathen Rome cannot be the subject of these prophecies. In short from these and all other characters and circumstances, some whereof can never agree with Heathen Rome, and all agree perfectly with Christian Rome, it may and must be concluded, that not Heathen but Christian, not imperial but papal Rome was intended by these visions.

III. Besides the place and the persons, the *time* also is signified of this tyrannical power, when it should prevail, and how long it should prevail. Daniel mentions these things as being at a very great distance, and indeed they were at a very great distance in his time. It is said (viii. 26. x. 24.) *the vision is yet for many days;* that it comprehends (viii. 29.) *what shall be in the last end of the indignation;* that it extends (xi. 35, 40. xii. 4, 9.) *even to the time of the end;* that *when* God (xii. 7.) *shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished:* all which and other passages to the same purpose considered, it appears as unaccountable as strange, that ever any man should imagin, as some

both ancients and moderns have imagined, that Daniel's prophecies reached not beyond the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Daniel hath described four great empires, not contemporary, but successive one to another. The fourth and last is represented as the greatest of all, both in extent and in duration. *It devoureth the whole earth, and treadeth it down, and breaketh it in pieces.* After which it is divided into ten kingdoms, and *the little horn* groweth not up till after this division. So that this tyrannical power was to arise in the latter days of the Roman empire, after it should be divided into ten kingdoms. From St. Paul too we may collect, that the great power of the Roman empire hindered the appearing of *the man of sin:* but when that power should be diminished and *taken out of the way*, then should *the man of sin be revealed in his time.* St. John also refers these events to the same æra. Not only the general order and the whole series of his prophecies point to this time, but there are besides particular intimations of it. He describes *the beast* as successor to *the great red dragon*, in *his power, and his seat, and great authority:* but if *the great red dragon be*, as he is generally understood to be, the persecuting power of Heathen Rome, then the persecuting power of Heathen Rome must be removed, before *the beast* can take his place. The beast hath also *ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns;* so that ten complete kingdoms must arise out of the Roman empire before the appearance of the beast. Of his *seven heads* it is said, *Five are fallen*, that is in St. John's time five forms of government were past, *one is and the other is not yet come*, and the sixth which was then present being the imperial, it necessarily follows that the seventh or last must be some form of government which must arise after the imperial; and as St. John saw the one, we see the other.

It appears then that this Antichristian power was to arise in the latter times of the Roman empire, after an end should be put to the imperial power, and after the empire should be divided into ten kingdoms: and it is not only foretold *when* it should prevail, but moreover *how long* it should prevail. Here we cannot but observe,

that the very same period of time is prefixed for its continuance both by Daniel and by St. John. Wonderful is the consent and harmony between these inspired writers, as in other circumstances of the prophecy, so particularly in this. In Daniel (vii. 25.) *the little horn* was to *wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws;* and it is said expresly, that they *should be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time;* or as the same thing is expressed in another place, (xii. 7.) *for a time, times, and a half.* In the Revelation it is said of the *beast,* (xiii. 5.) to whom in like manner *it was given to make war with the saints, and to overcome them,* that *power* also *was given unto him to continue forty and two months:* and *the holy city* (xi. 2.) *the Gentiles should tread under foot forty and two months:* and *the two witnesses* (ver. 3.) *should prophecy a thousand two hundred and threescore days cloathed in sackcloth:* and the woman, the true church of Christ who fled into the wilderness from persecution (xii. 6, 14.) should be fed and nourished there *a thousand two hundred and threescore days,* or as is otherwise expressed in the same chapter, *for a time, and times, and half a time.* Now all these numbers you will find upon computation to be the same, and each of them to signify 1260 years. For *a time is a year,* and *a time and times and the dividing of the time* or *half a time are three years and a half, and three years and a half* are 42 *months,* and 42 *months* are 1260 *days,* and 1260 *days* in the prophetic stile are 1260 *years.* From all these dates and characters it may fairly be concluded, that the time of the church's great affliction and of the reign of Antichrist will be a period of 1260 years.

To fix the time exactly when the 1260 years begin, and consequently when they will end, is a matter of some niceness and difficulty; and perhaps we must see their conclusion, before we can precisely ascertain their beginning. However it appears to be a very great mistake of some very learned men, in dating the commencement of this period too early. This is the capital error of Mr. Mede's scheme; what hath led him, and others who have followed his example, into subsequent errors; and what

the event hath plainly refuted. For if the reign of Antichrist had begun, as he reckons, about the year 556, its end would have fallen out about the year 1716. The truth is, those 1260 years are not to be reckoned from the *beginning* of these corruptions, from the *rise* of this tyranny, for *the mystery of iniquity began to work* even in the days of the apostles; but from their full growth and establishment in the world. Of *the little horn*, who was *to wear out the saints of the most High, and to change times and laws*, it is said that *they should be given into his hand*, which can imply no less than the most absolute power and authority over them, *until a time, and times, and the dividing of time.* In like manner *the holy city*, the true church of Christ, was to be *troden under foot*, which is the lowest state of subjection; *the two witnesses* were not only to *prophesy*, but to *prophesy in sackcloth*, that is in mourning and affliction; the *woman*, the church, was to abide in *the wilderness*, that is in a forlorn and desolate condition: and *power was given to the beast ποιησαι*, not merely *to continue* as it is translated, but *to practise* and *prosper*, and *to do* according to his will; and all for this same period of 1260 years. These 1260 years therefore of the reign of Antichrist are not to be computed from his birth, or infancy, or youth; but from his coming to maturity, from his coming to the throne: and in my opinion their beginning cannot be fixed consistent with the truth of history either sooner or later than in the eighth century. Several memorable events happened in that century. In the (3) year 727 the pope and people of Rome revolted from the exarch of Ravenna, and shook off their allegiance to the Greek emperor. In the year 755 the pope obtained the exarchate of Ravenna for himself, and thenceforwards acted as an absolute temporal prince. In the year 774 the pope by the assistance of Charles the great became possessed of the kingdom of the Lombards. In the year 787 the worship of images was fully established, and the supremacy of the pope acknowleged by the second council of Nice. From one

(3) See Sigonius, Spanheim, Dupin, &c. &c.

or other of these transactions it is probable, that the beginning of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated. What appears to be most probable is, that it is to be dated from the year 727, when (as (4) Sigonius says) *Rome and the Roman dukedom came from the Greeks to the Roman pontiff.* Hereby he became in some measure a *horn* or temporal prince, though his power was not fully established till some years afterwards: and before he was a *horn* at all, he could not answer the character of *the little horn.* If then the beginning of the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated from the year 727, their end will fall near the year 2000 after Christ; and at the end of the 6000th year of the world, according to a very early tradition of Jews and Christians, and even of Heathens, great changes and revolutions are expected both in the natural and in the moral world; and *there remaineth,* according to the words of the apostle, (Heb. iv. 9.) *a sabbatism* or *holy rest to the people of God.*

IV. What Daniel hath described under the character of *the little horn,* and *the blasphemous king;* what St. Paul hath described under the character of *the man of sin, the son of perdition;* what St. John hath described under the character of *the beast,* and *the false prophet;* that same tyrannical, idolatrous, and blasphemous power, ecclesiastical writers usually denominate *Antichrist:* and having thus far traced his character and description, his rise, progress, and continuance, let us now proceed to consider his fall, when at the expiration of the prefixed period of 1260 years his kingdom shall be destroyed for evermore. The prophets are not more expressive of his elevation, than they are of his destruction. They not only predict his downfall in general terms, but also describe the manner and circumstances of it; and St. John's account being larger, and more circumstantial and particular, will be the best comment and explanation of the others. For my part I cannot pretend to prophesy, which is the common vanity of expositors of the Revelation; I

(4) Ita Roma, Romanusque Ducatus a Græcis ad Romanum pontificem pervenit. [Translated in the text.] Sigon. Hist. de Regno Ital. Lib. 3. Ad Ann. 727.

can only represent events in the order wherein according to my apprehension the prophets have placed them. Sobriety and modesty are required in the interpretation of all prophecies, and especially in the explication of things yet future. Only thus much it may be proper to premise, that having seen so many of the prophecies fulfilled, you have the less reason to doubt of the completion of those which are to follow.

At this present time we are living under *the sixth trumpet*, and the *second woe;* (Rev. xi.) the Othman empire is still subsisting, the beast is still reigning, and there are protestant witnesses still prophesying in sackcloth: and this *sixth trumpet* and *second woe* must end, before the *seventh trumpet* can sound, or *the third woe* be poured out, which is to fall upon the kingdom of the beast. But before the end of *the second woe*, it should seem that the papists will make a great and successful effort against the protestant religion. When the witnesses *shall have near finished their testimony*, that is towards the conclusion of their 1260 years, *the beast shall make war against them, and shall overcome them.* They shall lie oppressed and *dead* as it were, to the great joy and triumph of their enemies; but they shall *rise again after three years and a half*, and the protestant religion shall become more glorious than ever, with a considerable diminution of the papal authority. According to the method and order wherein St. John hath arranged these events, they must happen before the end of *the second woe*, or the fall of the Othman empire. Ezekiel (xxxviii. xxxix.) and Daniel (xi. 44, 45.) have given some intimations, that the Othman empire shall be overthrown in opposing the settlement of Israel in their own land in the latter days. In the conclusion of the book of Daniel there are also some intimations, that the religion of Mohammed shall prevail in the east for as long a period of time as the tyranny of the little horn in the west. Very remarkable too it is, that (5) Mohammed first contrived his imposture in the year 606, the very same year wherein the tyrant Phocas

(5) See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet.

made a grant of the supremacy to the pope; and this might incline one to think that the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist are to be dated from this time. But though they might rise together, yet they were not fully established together. The authority of Mohammed might be fully established in the seventh century, but that of the pope, was not so till the eighth century; and therefore, as the one was established somewhat sooner, so it may also be subverted somewhat sooner, than the other. The pope indeed was established *supreme* in spirituals in the seventh century, but he became not a temporal *horn* or *beast* till the eighth century.

When the Othman empire is overthrown, and *the second woe is past*, then according to St. John (xi. 14.) *the third woe cometh quickly*, which comprehends all the severe and terrible judgments of God upon the kingdom of the beast. In like manner when Daniel hath predicted the fall of *the king of the north* or of the Othman empire, he subjoins immediately (xii. 1.) that *there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book;* agreeably to which St. John also saith (xx. 15.) *that whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.* The 1260 years of the reign of the beast, I suppose, end with the 1260 years of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth; and now the destined time is come for the judgments of God to overtake him; for as he might exist before the 1260 years began, so he may exist likewise after they are finished, in order to be made an eminent example of divine justice. For the greater confirmation and illustration of this subject, and to make the stronger impression upon the minds of the readers, these judgments are displayed under a variety of figures and representations. First they are described in a more general manner (Rev. xiv.) as *the harvest and reaping of the earth*, and as *the vintage and wine-press of the wrath of God.* Then they are represented in a more particular manner (Rev. xv. xvi.) as *the seven vials*, or *the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God;* which are so

many signal judgments upon the kingdom of the beast, and so many steps and degrees of his ruin. Afterwards the fall of Rome is delineated (Rev xvii. xviii.) as of another Babylon; and it is declared that she shall be destroyed by fire, and her destruction shall be a complete and total destruction, such as hath never yet been the fate of Rome. Some of the princes, who were once of her, communion, *shall hate* her as much as they loved her *and burn her with fire.* It is farther intimated that she shall be swallowed up by a subterraneous fire, shall sink *like a great milstone in the sea,* and *her smoke shall rise up for ever and ever:* and the soil and situation of Rome and the neighbouring countries greatly favor such a supposition. As St. John saith, (xi. 8.) she *spiritually is called Sodom,* and she shall resemble *Sodom* in her punishment as well as in her crimes. After the subversion of the capital city, (Rev. xix.) *the beast and the false prophet,* the powers civil and ecclesiastical, with those who still adhere to their party, shall make one effort more; but it shall prove as weak and vain, as it is impious; they *shall both be taken, and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.* The destruction of Antichrist therefore, of himself as well as of his seat, shall be in a terrible manner *by fire.* Daniel asserts the same thing, (vii. 11.) *I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake, I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.* So likewise saith St. Paul, (2 Thes. i. 7, 8.) *The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:* and more particularly (ii. 8.) *The Lord shall consume the wicked one,* the man of sin *with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming.*

About the time of the fall of the Othman empire and of the Christian Antichrist, the Jews shall turn to the Lord, and be restored to their own land. Innumerable are the prophecies concerning the conversion and restoration of this people. Hear only what Hosea saith, who

prophesied before the captivity of the ten tribes of Israel, (Hos. i. 3.) *The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image* or altar, *and without an ephod, and without teraphim* or divine manifestations: *Afterward shall the children of Israel return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days.* Hear also what Ezekiel saith, who prophesied during the captivity of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, (xxxvii. 21, 25.) *Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt, and they shall dwell therein, even they and their children, and their childrens children for ever, and my servant David shall be their prince for ever.* (xxxix. 28, 29.) *Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, who caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen, but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there: Neither will I hide my face any more from them; for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God.* Ye cannot but remember what St. Paul saith upon the same occasion, (Rom. xi. 25.) *I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come, and so all Israel shall be saved.* Now these and the like predictions, we suppose, will take effect, and this great revolution be accomplished, about the time of the fall of the Othman empire, and of the Christian Antichrist. Ezekiel's *Gog and Magog* (xxxviii. xxxix.) we believe to be the Turks or Othmans, and *they shall come up against the children of Israel in the latter days* to oppose their resettlement in their own land, *and they shall fall* in some extraordinary manner *upon the mountains of Israel, they and the people that is with them; so the house of Israel shall know that I am the Lord their God, from that day and forward.* Daniel too (xi. 45. xii. 1.)

predicts the fall of the king of the north *upon the glorious holy mountain: And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince who standeth for the children of Israel.* The restoration of the Jews and the fall of Antichrist shall also happen about the same time. If *the sixth vial* Rev. xvi. 12.) which *is poured out upon the great river Euphrates, whose waters are dried up to prepare a passage for the kings of the east,* is to be understood as Mr. Mede and others think, of the return of the Jews; then the return of the Jews is one of the seven last plagues of Antichrist. But this notion is expressed more clearly in Daniel, as it more immediately concerned his people. (xi. 36.) *He shall prosper till the indignation,* that is God's indignation against the Jews, *be accomplished:* and again afterwards (xii. 7.) *When God shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.* In consequence and conformity to this doctrin a tradition hath prevailed (6) among the Jews, that the destruction of Rome and the redemption of Israel shall fall out about the same time.

When these great events shall come to pass, of which we collect from the prophecies this to be the proper order; the protestant witnesses shall be greatly exalted, and the 1260 years of their prophesying in sackcloth and of the tyranny of the beast shall end together; the conversion and restoration of the Jews succeed: then follows the ruin of the Othman empire, and then the total destruction of Rome and of Antichrist. When these great events, I say, shall come to pass, then shall the kingdom of Christ commence, or the reign of the saints upon earth. So Daniel expresly informs us, that the kingdom of Christ and the saints will be raised upon the ruins of the kingdom of Antichrist; (vii. 26, 27.) *But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end: And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the*

(6) See Placita Hebræorum Doctorum de Babylonis seu Romæ excidio in Mede's works. B. 5. Cap. 8. p. 902.

most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominion shall serve and obey him. So likewise St. John saith, that upon the final destruction of *the beast and the false prophet* (Rev. xx.) *Satan is bound for a thousand years; And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years: But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.* It is, I conceive to these great events, the fall of Antichrist, the re-establishment of the Jews, and the beginning of the glorious millennium, that the three different dates in Daniel of 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years are to be referred: and as Daniel saith, (xii. 12.) *Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the* 1335 *years;* so St. John saith, (xx. 6.) *Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection.* Blessed and happy indeed will be this period: and it is very observable, that the martyrs and confessors of Jesus, in popish as well as in pagan times, will be raised to partake of this felicity. Then shall all those gracious promises in the Old Testament be fulfilled of the amplitude and extent, of the peace and prosperity, of the glory and happiness of the church in the latter days. Then in the full sense of the words (Rev. xi 15.) *shall the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.* According to (7) tradition these thousand years of the reign of Christ and the saints will be the seventh millenary of the world; for as God created the world in six days and rested on the seventh, so the world, it is argued, will continue six thousand years, and the seventh thousand will be the great *sabbatism* or holy rest to the people of God; *one day* (2 Pet. iii. 8.) *being with the Lord as a thousand years,*

(7) See Burnet's Theory, B. 3, Ch. 5. B. 4. Ch. 6.

and a thousand years as one day. According to (8) tradition too these thousand years of the reign of Christ and the saints are *the great day of judgment;* in the morning or beginning whereof shall be the coming of Christ in flaming fire, and the particular judgment of Antichrist, and the first resurrection; and in the evening or conclusion whereof shall be the general resurrection of the dead, *small and great,* and *they shall be judged every man according to their works.*

Prudence as well as modesty requires, that we should forbear all curious enquiries into the nature and condition of this future kingdom; as how Satan should be bound for a thousand years, and afterwards loosed again; how the raised saints shall cohabit with the living, and judge and govern the world; how Christ shall manifest himself to them, and reign among them; how the new Jerusalem, the city and church of the living God, shall descend from heaven to earth; how Satan shall at last deceive the nations, and what nations they shall be. These are points which the holy Spirit hath not thought fit to explain; and folly may easily ask more questions about them, than wisdom can answer. Wisdom, in the mysterious things of God, and especially in the mysterious things of futurity, will still adhere to the words of scripture; and having seen the completion of so many particulars will rest contented with believing that these also shall be, without knowing *how* they shall be. It is of the nature of most prophecies not to be fully understood, till they are fully accomplished, and especially prophecies relating to a state so different from the present as the millennium. Perfectly to comprehend these and all other prophecies may constitute a part of the happiness of that period, for then they will all be fulfilled, and the *mystery of God shall be finished.* This however is very evident, that wickedness would soon overrun the world, if not restrained by an overruling providence; for no sooner is Satan loosed again, than *the nations which are*

(8) See Placita Hebræorum Doctorum de Magno die Judicii in Medo. p. 535. B. 5. Ch. 3. p. 892.

in the four quarters of the earth come up against the holy city, *the number of whom is as the sand of the sea:* And therefore at the time appointed, after the general judgment, this world shall be destroyed, (2 Pet. iii. 10.) *the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also, and the works that are therein shall be burnt up.* Thus (Rev. xxi. 1.) *the first heaven and the first earth shall pass away,* and *a new heaven* and *a new earth* shall succeed, (2 Pet. iii. 13.) *wherein dwelleth righteousness;* (Rev. xxi. 3, 4.) *God himself shall be with men, and be their God; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor pain, for the former things are passed away.* (1 Cor. xv. 24, &c.) *Then cometh the end, when Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet; the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.*

Since then the corruptions of popery are so particularly foretold in scripture, and make so considerable a part of the ancient prophecies, we have the less reason to be surprised and offended at them. While the papists endevor to corrupt and adulterate the doctrins of the prophets and apostles, they still accomplish their predictions; while they labor to destroy Christianity in one part, they unwittingly confirm and establish it in another. And since a time is certainly coming, wherein God will avenge himself on these idolaters, and require the blood of his servants at their hands, let us wait with *the faith and the patience of saints,* till it be accomplished. We have seen the prophecies remarkably fulfilled in their success, and we shall see them as remarkably fulfilled too in their destruction. The power of the pope is nothing near so great now as it was some years ago: It received its death-wound at the Reformation, of which it may languish for a time, but will never entirely recover, though its last struggles and efforts, like those of a dying

monster, may be terrible and dangerous. In the end the gospel will prevail over all enemies and opposers. (Matt. xxi. 44.) *Whosoever shall fall on this stone, shall be broken; but on whomsoevr it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.* We will conclude our discourse with the words of Ezra, so very applicable to us of the reformed religion; (ix. 13, 14.) *After all that is come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass, seeing that thou our God hast punished us less than our iniquities deserve, and hast given us such deliverance as this,* a deliverance from the yoke and tyranny of the church of Rome; *should we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of these abominations, wouldst thou not be angry with us till thou hast consumed us, so that there should be no remnant nor escaping?*

CONCLUSION.

FROM these instances, which have been produced, of prophecies and their completions, it is hoped, this conclusion may fairly be drawn in the words of St. Peter, (2 Pet. i. 20, 21.) that *no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation,* or the suggestion of any man's own spirit or fancy; *for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* Other instances might have been alleged to the same purpose: but those prophecies which received their full accomplishment in ancient times, and even those which were accomplished in the person and actions of our blessed Saviour, are not here considered; such only as relate to these latter ages, and either in the whole or in part are now fulfilling in the world, are made the subjects of these dissertations. This is proving our religion in some measure by ocular demonstration, is not *walking by faith* only, but also *by sight.* For you can have no rea-

son to doubt of the truth of prophecy, and consequently of the truth of revelation, when you see instances of things, which could no ways depend upon human conjecture, foretold with the greatest clearness, and fulfilled hundreds of years afterwards with the greatest exactness. Nay you see prophecies, the latest whereof were delivered about 1700 years ago, and some of them above 3000 years ago, fulfilling at this very time, and cities, countries, and kingdoms in the very same condition, and all brought about in the very same manner, and with the very same circumstances, as the prophets had foretold.

You see the descendents of Shem and Japheth *ruling* and *inlarged* in Asia and Europe, and perhaps in America, and *the curse of servitude* still attending the wretched descendents of Ham in Africa. You see the posterity of Ishmael *multiplied exceedingly*, and become *a great nation* in the Arabians; yet living like *wild men*, and shifting from place to place in the wilderness; *their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them;* and still *dwelling* an independent and free people, *in the presence of all their brethren* and in the presence of all their enemies. You see the family of Esau totally extinct, and that of Jacob subsisting at this day; *the sceptre departed from Judah*, and the people living no where in authority, every where in subjection; the Jews still *dwelling alone among the nations*, while *the remembrance of Amalek* is *utterly put out from under heaven*. You see the Jews severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to their great prophet like unto Moses; *plucked from off their own land, and removed into all the kingdoms of the earth; oppressed and spoiled ever more*, and made *a proverb and a by-word among all nations*. You see *Ephraim so broken as to be no more a people*, while the whole nation is comprehended under the name of Judah; the Jews wonderfully preserved as a distinct people, while their great conquerors are every where destroyed; their land lying desolate, and themselves cut off from being the people of God, while the Gentiles are advanced in their room. You see Nineveh so completely destroyed, that the place thereof is not, and cannot be known; Ba-

bylon made *a desolation for ever, a possession for the bittern, and pools of water;* Tyre become *like the top of a rock, a place for fishers to spread their nets upon;* and Egypt *a base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms,* and still tributary and subject to strangers. You see of the four great empires of the world the fourth and last, which was greater and more powerful than any of the former, divided in the western part thereof into ten lesser kingdoms; and among them a power *with a triple crown, divers from the first,* with *a mouth speaking very great things,* and with *a look more stout than his fellows, speaking great words against the most High, wearing out the saints of the most High, and changing times and laws.* You see a power *cast down the truth to the ground, and prosper and practise, and destroy the holy people, not regarding the God of his fathers, nor the desire of wives, but honoring Mahuzzim,* Gods-protectors or saints-protectors, *and causing* the priests of Mahuzzim *to rule over many, and to divide the land for gain.* You see the Turks *stretching forth their hand over the countries,* and particularly *over the land of Egypt, the Libyans at their steps,* and the Arabians still *escaping out of their hands.* You see the Jews *led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem troden down of the Gentiles,* and likely to continue so *until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled,* as the Jews are by a constant miracle preserved a distinct people for the completion of other prophecies relating to them. You see one *who opposeth and exalteth himself* above all laws divine and human, *sitting as God in the church of God and shewing himself that he is God, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness.* You see a great *apostasy* in the Christian church, which consists chiefly in the worship of *demons,* angels or departed saints, and is promoted *thro' the hypocrisy of liars, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats.* You see the seven churches of Asia lying in the same forlorn and desolate condition that the angel had signified to St. John, their *candlestick removed out of its place,* their churches turned into mosques, their worship

into superstition. In short you see the characters of *the beast and the false prophet*, and *the whore of Babylon*, now exemplified in every particular, and in a city that is seated *upon seven mountains;* so that if the bishop of Rome had sat for his picture, a greater resemblance and likeness could not have been drawn.

As there is a near affinity between this and what Dr. Clarke (1) hath said in the conclusion of his discourse of prophecies, it may be proper to confirm and illustrate the argument with so great an authority: and indeed these things are of such importance, and so deserving to be known, that they cannot be inculcated too frequently, nor shown in too many lights.

"I shall conclude this head with pointing at some par-
" ticular extraordinary prophecies, which deserve to be
" carefully considered and compared with the events,
" whether they could possibly have proceeded from chance
" or from enthusiasm. Some of them are of such a nature,
" as that they can only be judged of by persons learned
" in history; and these I shall but just mention. Others
" are obvious to the consideration of the whole world;
" and with those I shall finish what I think proper at
" this time to offer upon this subject.

" Concerning Babylon it was particularly foretold,
" *that it should be shut up and besieged by the Medes,*
" *Elamites, and Armenians;* that *the river should be*
" *dried up;* that *the city should be taken in the time of a*
" *feast, while her mighty men were drunken;* Which
" accordingly came to pass, when Belshazzar and all his
" thousand princes, who were drunk with him at the feast,
" were slain by Cyrus's soldiers. Also it was particularly
" foretold, that *God would make the country of Babylon*
" *a possession for the bittern and pools of water;* Which
" was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and
" drowning of it, on the breaking down of the great damm
" in order to take the city. Could the correspondence of
" these events with the predictions, be the result of
" chance? But suppose these predictions were forged
" after the event, can the following ones also have been

(1) Clarke's Works, Vol. 2. The Evidences of natural and revealed religion, p. 720, &c.

" written after the event? or with any reason be ascribed " to chance? *The wild beasts of the desert shall dwell* " *there, and the owls shall dwell therein: and it shall be* " *no more inhabited for ever, neither shall it be dwelt in* " *from generation to generation: As God overthrew* " *Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. They shall not take of* " *thee a stone for a corner,—but thou shalt be desolate* " *for ever, saith the Lord:—Babylon shall become heaps,* " *a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment and an* " *hissing without an inhabitant;—It shall sink, and* " *shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her.* " *Babylon, the glory of kingdoms,—shall be as when* " *God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: It shall never* " *be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from genera-* " *tion to generation: Neither shall the Arabian pitch* " *tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold* " *there; But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and* " *their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and* " *owls shall dwell there.*

" Concerning Egypt was the following prediction " forged after the event? or can it, with any reason, be " ascribed to chance? *Egypt shall be a base kingdom:* " *It shall be the basest of kingdoms, neither shall it exalt* " *itself any more above the nations: For I will diminish* " *them, that they shall no more rule over the nations.*

" Concerning Tyre, the prediction is no less remarka- " ble: *I will make thee like a top of a rock; thou shalt* " *be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no* " *more.—Thou shalt be no more; the merchants among* " *the people shall hiss at thee, thou shalt be a terror,* " *and never shalt be any more. All they that know thee* " *among the people, shall be astonished at thee.*

" The description of the extent of the dominion of " that people, who were to possess Judea in the latter " days: was it forged after the event? or can it rea- " sonably be ascribed to chance? *He shall come with* " *horsemen, and with many ships, and shall overflow and* " *pass over: He shall enter also into the glorious land,* " *[and shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between* " *the seas in the glorious holy mountain] and many* " *countries shall be overthrown: But these shall escape*

" *out of his hand, even Edom and Moab and the chief of*
" *the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his*
" *hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt*
" *shall not escape. But he shall have power over the*
" *treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the preci-*
" *ous things of Egypt; and the Lybians and Ethiopians*
" *shall be at his steps.*

" When Daniel, in the (2) vision of Nebuchadnezzar's
" image, foretold four great successive monarchies; was
" this written after the event? or can the congruity of his
" description with the things themselves, reasonably be
" ascribed to mere chance?

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

" When the same Daniel foretels a tyrannical power,
" which should *wear out the saints of the most High, and*
" *they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times,*
" *and the dividing of time;* and again *for* (3) *a time,*
" *times, and a half:* (Which can no way be applied to
" the *short* persecution of Antiochus, because these pro-
" phecies are expresly declared to be *for many days;*
" concerning *what shall befall thy people in the latter*
" *days; for yet the vision is for many days;* concerning
" *the time of the end; what shall be in the last end of the*
" *indignation;* concerning those who *shall fall by the*
" *sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, many*
" *days; to try them, even to the time of the end, because*
" *it is yet for a time appointed;* concerning *a time of*
" *trouble, such as never was since there was a nation;*
" the time *when God shall have accomplished to scatter*
" *the power of the holy people; the time of the end, till*
" *which the words are closed up and sealed; to which* the
" prophet is commanded to *shut up* his *words and seal the*
" *book,* for *many shall run to and fro, and knowlege shall*
" *be increased;* even *the end, till which Daniel was to*
" *rest, and* then *stand in his lot at the end of the days.)*

(2) " The fame of which was so nearly spread; that Ezekiel, who was
" contemporary with Daniel, plainly alludes to it, when he says of the
" prince of Tyre, Chap. xxviii. 3. *Thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no*
" *secret that they can hide from thee.*"

(3) " Three years and a half, or 1260 days, is, according to the analogy of
" all the forementioned numbers, 1260 years."

" When Daniel, I say, foretels such a tyrannical power, " to continue such a determined period of time: And St. " John prophesies, that the *Gentiles should tread the holy* " *city under foot forty and two months;* which is exactly " the same period of time with that of Daniel: And " again, that *two witnesses clothed in sackcloth, should* " *prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days;* " which is again exactly the very same period of time: " And again, that *the woman* which *fled into the wilder-* " *ness* from persecution, should continue there *a thousand* " *two hundred and threescore days:* And again, that she " should *fly into the wilderness, for a time, and times,* " *and half a time;* which is still the very same period. " And again, that *a wild beast,* a tyrannical power, *to* " *whom it was given to make war with the saints, and to* " *overcome them,* was *to* (4) *continue forty and two* " *months,* (still the very same period of time) and to have " *power over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations,* so " that *all that dwell upon the earth* should *worship him:* " Is it credible or possible that ignorant and enthusiasti- " cal writers should by mere chance hit upon such " coincidences of [occult] numbers? especially since " St. John could not possibly take the numbers from " Daniel, if he understood Daniel to mean nothing more " than the *short* persecution of Antiochus. And if he " did understand Daniel to mean a *much longer* and

(4) " There has prevailed among learned men a very important error, as " if the 1260 days (or years) here spoken of, took their beginning from the " *rise* of the tyranny here described. Whereas, on the contrary, the words " of Daniel are express, that, not from the time of his *rise*, but *after* his " having made war with the saints, and from the time of *their being given* " *into his hand*, should be *a time and times and the dividing of time*. Chap. vii. " 24, 25. And St. John no less expresly says, that the time, not of *the two* " *witnesses prophesying*, (for in part of that time they had *great power*) but of " *their prophesying in sackcloth*, should be *a thousand two hundred and three-* " *score days*, Rev. xi. 3. And the *persecuted woman*, after her flight, was to " be actually *in the wilderness a thousand two hundred and threescore days*, " Chap. xii. 6. Wherefore also *the forty and two months*, (the very same pe- " riod) during which time *power was given unto the wild beast to continue*, (in " the original it is ποιησαι to do what he pleased, (Rev. xiii. 3.) evidently " ought not to be reckoned from his *rise* or from the time when *the ten kings* " (Chap. xvii. 12.) *received power with him;* but from the time of his having " totally *overcome the saints*, and of his *being worshipped by all that dwell upon* " *the earth*, Chap. xiii. 7, 8."

" *greater* and *more remote* tyranny, which John himself " prophesied of as *in his time* still future; then the " wonder is still infinitely greater, that in those early " times, when there was not the least footstep in the " world of any such power as St. John distinctly de- " scribes, (but which now is very conspicuous, as I shall " presently observe more particularly) it should ever " enter into the heart of man to conceive so much as the " possibility of such a power, sitting not upon the pavi- " lion of heathen persecutors, but expresly (2 Thess. ii. " 4.) *in the temple* and upon the seat of God himself.

" But these prophecies, which either relate to particu- " lar places, or depend upon the computation of particular " periods of time, are (as I said) of such a nature, as that " they cannot be judged of, but by persons skilled in his- " tory. There are some others more general, running " thro' the whole scripture, and obvious to the considera- " tion of the whole world.

" For instance: It was foretold by Moses, that when " the Jews forsook the true God, they should be *removed* " *into all the kingdoms of the earth;* should *be scattered* " *among the Heathen, among the nations, among all* " *people from the one end of the earth even unto* " *the other;* should *there be left few in number among* " *the Heathen,* and *pine away in their iniquity in their* " *enemies lands;* and should *become an astonishment, a* " *proverb, and a by-word, among all nations;* and that " *among these nations* they should *find no ease, neither* " should the *sole of their foot have rest; but the Lord* " *should give them a trembling heart, and failing of* " *eyes, and sorrow of mind;* and *send a faintness into* " *their hearts in the lands of their enemies;* so that *the* " *sound of a shaken leaf* should *chase them.* Had any " thing like this, in Moses's time, ever happened to any " nation? Or was there in nature any probability, that " any such thing should ever happen to any people? " that, when they were conquered by their enemies, and " led into captivity, they should neither continue in the " place of their captivity, nor be swallowed up and lost " among their conquerors, but be scattered among all

" the nations of the world, and hated by all nations for " many ages, and yet *continue* a people? Or could any " description of the Jews, written at this day, possibly be " a more exact and lively picture of the state they have " *now* been in for many ages; than this prophetic de- " scription given by Moses, more than 3000 years ago?

" The very same thing is in like manner continually " predicted through all the following prophets; that God " would *scatter them among the Heathen;* that he would " *cause them to be removed into all the kingdoms of the* " *earth;* that he would *scatter them into all the winds,* " and *disperse them through the countries of the Hea-* " *then;* that he would *sift them among all nations, like* " *as corn is sifted in a sieve;* that *in all the kingdoms* " *of the earth, whither* they should be *driven,* they should " be *a reproach and a proverb, a taunt and a curse,* and " *an astonishment and a hissing;* and that they should " *abide many days without a king, and without a prince,* " *and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and* " *without an ephod, and without teraphim.* And here " concerning the predictions of Ezekiel 'tis remarkable in " particular, that they being spoken in the very time of " the Babylonian captivity, 'tis therefore evident from the " time of his prophesying, as well as from the nature and " description of the thing itself, that he needs must be " understood of that latter *captivity into all places,* which " was to happen after the *fulfilling the time of that age,* " wherein God was first to *bring them again* (out of the " Babylonian captivity) *into the land where they should* " *build a temple,* but *not like to* that which *afterwards* " (after their final return) should *be built for ever with* " *a glorious building.* The forecited prophecies (I say) " must of necessity be understood of that wide and long " dispersion, which in the New Testament also is ex- " pressly mentioned by our Saviour and by St. Paul.

" 'Tis also farther, both *largely and distinctly* pre- " dicted, as well by Moses himself, as by all the follow- " ing prophets, that notwithstanding this unexampled " dispersion of God's people, *yet for all that, when they* " *be in the land of their enemies, God will not destroy* " *them utterly;* but *when they shall call to mind among*

" *all the nations, whither God has driven them, and* " *shall return unto the Lord, he will turn their capti-* " *vity, and gather them from all nations, from the out-* " *most parts of heaven, even in the latter days ;* That " *though he makes a full end of all* other *nations, yet* " *he will not make a full end of them;* but *a remnant of* " *them* shall be preserved, and *return out of all coun-* " *tries whither God has driven them:* That *he will sift* " *the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is* " *sifted in a sieve; yet shall not the least grain fall* " *upon the earth :* That *the Lord shall set his hand* " *again the second time, to recover the remnant of his* " *people, and shall set up an ensign for the nations, and* " *shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather to-* " *gether the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners* " *of the earth:* For *I will bring thy seed from the east,* " saith the Lord, *and gather thee from the west; I will* " *say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not* " *back; Bring my sons from far, and my daughters* " *from the ends of the earth: Behold, I will lift up my* " *hand to the Gentiles and set up my standard to the* " *people, and they shall bring thy sons in their arms,* " *and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoul-* " *ders: For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but* " *with great mercy will I gather thee: In a little wrath* " *I hid my face from thee, for a moment; but with* " *everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee.* And " that these prophecies might not be applied to the re- " turn from the 70 years captivity in Babylon, (which " moreover was not a dispersion into *all nations*) they " are expresly referred to the *latter days*, not only by " Moses but by Hosea, who lived long after, *(For the* " *children of Israel shall abide* MANY DAYS *without* " *a king, and without a prince ; and without a sacri-* " *fice;* AFTERWARD *they shall return, and seek the* " *Lord their God, and David their king, and shall* " *fear the Lord and his goodness in the* LATTER " DAYS) and by Ezekiel who lived in the captivity it- " self; *After* MANY DAYS [speaking of those who " should oppose the return of the Israelites] *thou shalt be* " *visited, in the* LATTER YEARS *thou shalt come*

" *into the land;—upon the people that are gathered out*
" *of the nations;—In that day, when my people of Israel*
" *dwelleth safely.—thou shalt come up against them,—*
" *it shall be in the* LATTER DAYS. These predic-
" tions therefore necessarily belong to that age, when the
" *times of the Gentiles* shall be *fulfilled*, and *the fulness*
" *of the Gentiles be come in.* And that, through all the
" changes which have happened in the kingdoms of the
" earth, from the days of Moses to the present time,
" which is more than 3000 years; nothing could have
" happened to prevent the *possibility* of the accomplish-
" ment of these prophecies; but on the contrary, the
" state of the Jewish and Christian nations at this day,
" should be such as renders them easily *capable*, not only
" of a figurative, but even of a litteral completion in
" every particular, if the will of God be so; this (I say)
" is a *miracle*, which hath nothing parallel to it in the
" phænomena of nature.

" Another instance, no less extraordinary, is as follows.
" Daniel foretels *a kingdom upon the earth, which shall*
" *be divers from all kingdoms, divers from all that were*
" *before it, exceeding dreadful, and shall devour the*
" *whole earth:* That, among the powers into which this
" kingdom shall be divided, there shall arise one power
" *divers from the rest*, who shall *subdue* unto himself
" *three* of *the first* powers, and he shall have *a mouth*
" *speaking very great things*, and *a look more stout*
" *than his fellows.* He shall *make war with the saints,*
" *and prevail against them. And he shall speak*
" *great words against the most High, and shall wear*
" *out the saints of the most High, and think to change*
" *times and laws; and they shall be given into his*
" *hand*, for a long season; even till *the judgment*
" *shall sit, and the kingdom under the whole heaven*
" *shall be given to the people of the saints of the*
" *most High. He shall exalt himself and magnify*
" *himself above every God, and shall speak marvelous*
" *things against the God of Gods;*——*Neither shall*
" *he regard* (5) *the God of his fathers, nor* (6) *the*

(5) " *The God of Gods*, as in the foregoing verse."
(6) " *Forbidding to marry*, 1 Tim. iv, 3."

" *desire of women, nor regard any God; for he shall* " *magnify himself above all. And in his estate shall he* " *honor* (7) *the God of forces, and* (8) *a God whom his* " *fathers knew not, shall he honor.—Thus shall he do in* " *the most strong holds with a strange God, whom he* " *shall acknowledge and increase with glory; and he* " *shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide* " *the land for gain.* Suppose now all this to be spoken by " Daniel, of nothing more than the short persecution under " Antiochus Epiphanes; which that it cannot be, I have " shown above. But suppose it were, and that it was all " forged after the event: yet this cannot be the case of St. " Paul and St. John, who describe exactly a *like* power, " and in *like words;* speaking of things to come in the " *latter days,* of things still *future* in *their* time, and of " which there were *then* no footsteps, no appearance in the " world. *The day of Christ,* saith St. Paul, *shall not come,* " *except there come a falling away first, and that man* " *of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth* " *and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or* " *that is worshipped: so that he, as God, sitteth* (9) *in* " *the temple of God, showing himself that he is God:*— " *whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all* " *power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all de-* " *ceivableness of unrighteousness.* Again: *The Spirit* " *speaketh expresly, that in the latter times some shall* " *depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits,* " *and* (1) *doctrins of devils;—forbidding to marry,* " *and commanding to abstain from meats,* &c.—St. John " in like manner prophesies of a *wild beast,* or tyranni- " cal power, to whom was given *great authority,* and *a*

(7) "*Gods protectors,* as 'tis in the margin of the Bible, or *saints pre-* " *tectors.*"

(8) "*Changing times and laws,* Ch. vii. 25; setting up new religions."

(9) "'Tis therefore a *Christian* (not an *Infidel*) power, that he here speaks " of."

(1) "Doctrins concerning *Demons,* that is, ghosts or souls of (good or " bad) men departed. Epiphanius, citing this text, alleges the following " words, as part of the text itself: σσονται, γαρ, φησι, νικροις λατρευοντες, ως " και εν τω Ισραηλ σεβασθησαν. *For they shall be, says the apostle, worship-* " *pers of the dead, even as the dead were anciently worshipped in Israel.* And " he applies the whole to the worshippers of the blessed virgin. Hæres. 78. " Sect. 22."

" mouth speaking great things and blasphemies: and he " opened his mouth in blasphemy against God: and it " was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to " overcome them; and power was given him over all kin- " dreds and tongues and nations; and all that dwell upon " the earth shall worship him.—And he that exerciseth his " power before him—doeth great wonders,—and deceiv- " eth them that dwell upon the earth, by the means of " those miracles which he had power to do.—And he " causeth that no man might buy or sell, save he that had " the mark or the name of the beast;—And the kings of " the earth have one mind, and shall give their power and " strength unto the beast;—even peoples and multi- " tudes, and nations, and tongues.—For God hath put in " their hearts [in the hearts of the kings] to fulfil his will, " and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, " until the words of God shall be fulfilled. The name of " the person, in whose hands the reins or principal direc- " tion of the exercise of this power is lodged, is Mystery, " Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, and abomi- " nations of the earth: with whom the kings of the earth " (2) have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of " the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her " fornication. And she herself is drunken with the blood " of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: " And by her (3) sorceries are all nations deceived: And " in her is found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and " of all that are slain upon the earth. And this person " [the political person] to whom these titles and charac- " ters belong, is that great city (standing upon seven moun- " tains) which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

"If in the days of St. Paul and John, there was " any footstep of such a sort of power as this in the " world: or, if their ever had been any such power in " the world: or, if there was then any appearance of " probability, that could make it enter into the heart of " man to imagin, that there ever could be any such

(2) " Have been led into idolatrous practices."

(3) " φαρμακειαις [σοφοις φαρμακοις] methods of making men religious " without virtue."

" kind of power in the world, much less in *the temple*
" or church *of God;* and, if there be not now such a
" power actually and conspicuously exercised in the
" world: and if any picture of this power, drawn after
" the event, can now describe it more plainly and ex-
" actly than it was originally described in the words of
" the prophecy: then may it with some degree of plau-
" sibleness be suggested, that the prophecies are nothing
" more than enthusiastic imaginations."

For these things you have the attestation of past, and the experience of present times: and you cannot well be deceived, if you will only believe your own eyes and observation. You actually see the completion of many of the prophecies in the state of men and things around you, and you have the prophecies themselves recorded in books, which books have been read in public assemblies these 1700 or 2000 years, have been dispersed into several countries, have been translated into several languages, and quoted and commented upon by different authors of different ages and nations, so that there is no room to suspect so much as a possibility of forgery or illusion.

The prophecies too, tho' written by different men in different ages, have yet a visible connexion and dependency, an entire harmony and agreement one with another. At the same time that there is such perfect harmony, there is also great variety: and the same things are foretold by different prophets in a different manner and with different circumstances: and the latter usually improve upon the former. They are all excellent in their different kinds: and you may observe the beauty and sublimity of the stile and diction of the prophets even from these quotations which have been made from their writings. Indeed they are very well worthy of your serious perusal and meditation, not only considered as prophets, but considered even as authors, for their noble images and descriptions, their bold tropes and figures, their instructive precepts, their pathetical exhortations, and other excellencies, which would have been admired in any ancient writers whatever.

Obscurities there are indeed in the prophetic writings, for which many good reasons may be assigned, and this particularly, because the prophecies are the only species of writing, which is designed more for the instruction of future ages than of the times wherein they are written. If the prophecies had been delivered in plainer terms, some persons might be for hastening their accomplishment, as others might attempt to defeat it; men's actings would not appear so free, nor God's providence so conspicuous in their completion. But though some parts are obscure enough to exercise the church, yet others are sufficiently clear to illuminate it: and the obscure parts, the more they are fulfilled, the better they are understood. In this respect as the world groweth older, it groweth wiser. Time, that detracts something from the evidence of other writers, is still adding something to the credit and authority of the prophets. Future ages will comprehend more than the present, as the present understands more than the past: and the perfect accomplishment will produce a perfect knowledge of all the prophecies.

In any explication of the prophecies you cannot but observe the subserviency of human learning to the study of divinity. One thing is particularly requisite, a competent knowledge of history sacred and profane, ancient and modern. Prophecy is, as I may say, history anticipated and contracted; history is prophecy accomplished and dilated: and the prophecies of scripture contain, as you see, the fate of the most considerable nations, and the substance of the most memorable transactions in the world from the earliest to the latest times. Daniel and St. John, with regard to these later times, are more copious and particular than the other prophets. They exhibit a series and succession of the most important events from the first of the four great empires to the consummation of all things. Their prophecies may really be said to be a summary of the history of the world, and the history of the world is the best comment upon their prophecies. I must confess it was my application to history, that first struck me, without thinking

of it, with the amazing justness of the scripture-prophecies. I observed the predictions all along to be verified in the course of events: and the more you know of ancient and modern times, and the farther you search into the truth of history, the more you will be satisfied of the truth of prophecy. They are only pretenders to learning and knowlege, who are patrons of infidelity. You have heard, in these discourses, of the two greatest men, whom this country, or perhaps the whole world hath produced, the Lord Bacon and Sir Isaac Newton, the one wishing for a history of the several prophecies of scripture compared with the events, the other writing Observations upon the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalyps of St. John: and the testimony of two such (not to mention others) is enough to weigh down the authority of all the infidels who ever lived.

You see what standing monuments the Jews are every where of divine vengeance for their infidelity; and beware therefore of the like crime, lest the like punishment should follow; *for* (Rom. xi. 21.) *if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee.* Our infidelity would be worse even than that of the Jews, for they receive and own the prophecies, but do not see and acknowlege their completion in Jesus, whereas our modern infidels reject both the prophecy and the completion together. But what strange disingenuity must it be, when there is all the evidence that history can afford for the prophecy, and in many cases even ocular demonstration for the completion, to be still obstinate and unbelieving? May we not very properly bestow upon such persons that just reproach of our Saviour, (Luke xxiv. 25.) *O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken?* But I have good hope and confidence in God, that (Heb. x. 39.) *we are not of them who draw back unto perdition, but of them who believe to the saving of the soul.*

Indeed if it was once or twice only that the thing had succeeded, and the event had fallen out agreeably to the prediction, we should not so much wonder, we should not lay such a stress upon it; it might be ascribed to a

lucky contingency, or owing to rational conjecture: but that so many things, so very unlikely ever to happen, should be so particularly foretold, and so many ages afterwards so punctually fulfilled, transcends without doubt all the skill and power of man, and must be resolved into the omniscience and omnipotence of God. Nothing certainly can be a stronger proof of a person's acting by divine commission, and speaking by divine inspiration: and it is assigned in scripture as the test and criterion between a true and false prophet: (Deut. xviii. 22.) *When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously;* and in another place (Jer. xxviii. 9.) *The prophet who prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known that the Lord hath truly sent him.* It is so much the peculiar prerogative of God; or of those who are commissioned by him, certainly to foretel future events, that it is made a challenge to all the false gods, (Isa. xli. 21, 28.) *Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the king of Jacob: show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods.* Lying oracles have been in the world; but all the wit and malice of men and devils cannot produce any such prophecies as are recorded in scripture; and what stronger attestations can you require to the truth and divinity of the doctrin? No man can bring with him more authentic credentials of his coming from God: and the more you shall consider and understand them, the more you will be convinced, that (Rev. xix. 10.) *the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.*

If to the prophecies you add the miracles, so salutary and beneficial, so publicly wrought and so credibly attested, above any other matters of fact whatever, by those who were eye-witnesses of them, and sealed the truth of their testimony with their blood; if to these external confirmations you add likewise the internal excellence of Christianity, the goodness of the doctrin itself, so moral, so perfect, so divine, and the purity and perfec-

tion of its motives and sanctions, above any other system of morality or religion in the world; if you seriously consider and compare all these things together, it is almost impossible not to feel conviction and to cry out, as Thomas did after handling our Saviour, (John xx. 28.) *My Lord and my God!* This is only one argument out of many, that there must be a divine revelation, if there is any truth in prophecy; and there must be truth in prophecy, as we have shown in several instances, and might show in several more, if there is any dependence upon the testimony of others or upon our own senses, upon what we read in books or upon what we see in the world.

Men are sometimes apt to think, that if they could but see a miracle wrought in favor of religion, they would readily resign all their scruples, believe without doubt and obey without reserve. The very thing that you desire, you have. You have the greatest and most striking of miracles in the series of scripture-prophecies accomplished; accomplished, as we see, in the present state of almost all nations, the Africans, the Egyptians, the Arabians, the Turks, the Jews, the Papists, the Protestants, Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, the seven churches of Asia, Jerusalem, and Rome. And this is not a transient miracle, ceasing almost as soon as performed; but is permanent, and protracted thro' the course of many generations. It is not a miracle delivered only upon the report of others, but is subject to your own inspection and examination. It is not a miracle exhibited only before a certain number of witnesses, but is open to the observation and contemplation of all mankind; and after so many ages is still growing, still improving to future ages. What stronger miracle therefore can you require for your conviction? or what will avail, if this be found ineffectual? Alas, if you reject the evidence of prophecy, neither would you be persuaded tho' one should rise from the dead. What can be plainer? You see or may see with your own eyes the scripture-prophecies accomplished; and if the scripture-prophecies are accomplished, the scripture must be the word of God; and if

the scripture is the word of God, the Christian religion must be true.

It is hoped therefore that the same address may be applied to you, which St. Paul made to king Agrippa, (Acts xxvi. 27, 28.) *Believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest:* and God dispose your heart to answer again, Not only *almost,* but *altogether thou persuadest me to be a Christian!* For your encouragement remember, that (Matt. x. 41.) *He who receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward.* Wherefore (1 Thess. v. 19, &c.) *quench not the spirit; despise not prophesyings; prove all things, hold fast that which is good. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.*

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